Śaiva Siddhānta Theology

A Context for Hindu-Christian Dialogue

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Rohan-A Dunuwila

The Śaiva Siddhānta is one of the most vigorous and extensively studied denominations in South India. What is often overlooked is that prior to its development in the Tamil South it was an all-India denomination, which had a history dating from the seventh century A.D.

In this book the author surveys for the first time the whole tradition of the Siddhānta in its historical, literary and theological contexts. He then focuses on Aghoraśiva (A.D. 1100), the theologian who bridged the two traditions, Sanskrit and Tamil.

The book is based on Aghoraśiva's commentary on Bhoja's (A.D. 1058) *Tattvaprakāśikā*, a systematic work of seventy-five verses. After translating the main verses (1-24) with their commentary, the author identifies the Siddhānta's main metaphysical problem: how to harmonize Emanationism with the theology of Difference (*bheda*)—a problem ignored by Bhoja and his predecessors. He then points to Aghoraśiva's solution as significant in the context of Hindu theology : an *inner* plurality of the Godhead untainted by the phenomenal. This—the divine plurality in unity—is the Siddhānta's fundamental insight.

Comparing the above insight to Christianity, the author then suggests that the latter's teaching—in the Catholic tradition—on the triadic nature of intradivine reality was *logically* and systematically formulated by some theologians only from a dyadic structure in God's Being—the absolute and relative aspects—a structure not unlike that of Aghoraśiva. On the basis of this suggestion he concludes that both topically and historically the Siddhānta bears some comparison with Christianity's central mystery: the Trinity.

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PREFACE

The purpose of this work is to discover the distinctive character of the Siddhānta's theology through the vicissitudes of its institutional and intellectual history, but especially from its beginnings to its transformation at the hands of its boldest theologian, Aghoraśiva. I have sought to realize this aim on the basis of a fivefold plan:

First, *of describing the origin of the Siddhānta as a religious denomination or church,* beginning with the attempt of establishing its importance. I believe this is best done by relating it to the other Śaiva denominations or sects, itself being today the most flourishing of those that have survived. I have emphasized the doctrinal aspects of these denominations, in particular of the later or theologically more developed ones, among which is Triadism (or Trika), one of the greatest schools of Hindu thought. I have then described the foundation of the Siddhānta church, indicated that Central India was its home, traced the extent of its diffusion, and identified the causes of its success. All this is the subject matter of Chapter I, "The Formation of the Siddhānta."

Second, *of surveying the entire theological literature of the Siddhānta,* according to its main phases, which are indeed the main phases of its thought. These are, respectively, its scriptures or Āgamas, where its main tenets were articulated; the works of the Tamil devotional mystics, where love was affirmed to be superior to gnosis; the systematic treatises of the Sanskrit theologians, where the tenets were structured from a gnostic viewpoint; and the systematic treatises of the Tamil theologians (who also sometimes used Sanskrit), structuring the same tenets from a devotional viewpoint. These are the topics of Chapter II, "Śaiva Siddhānta Literature."

Third, *of analyzing the thought of the Siddhānta's most revolutionary theologian, Aghoraśiva,* who effectively halted its transformation into a monist doctrine—a fate that befell the other sects of Śaivism. The Siddhānta's first complete systematizer, Bhoja, had not resolved the problem of the relationship of God and the world; which was why the Siddhānta monists sought to resolve

it in conformity with the Difference-in-Identity formulas employed by most contemporary theologians. These Aghora rejected in favor of a solution based on the dualist models of Sāṅkhya and Nyāya (Logicism). Making his own the Sāṅkhya tenet that whatever transforms is unconscious, Aghora divested the Five Pure Principles of their intradivine character and transposed them into the unconscious category of Bond. I have examined Aghora's views of causality, surveyed his list of the categories—considerations which inevitably lead one to examine the goal of theological categorization, liberation. These have been the topics of Chapter III, "The Theology of Aghoraśiva."

Fourth, *of presenting in English form, for the first time, a part of Aghora's most systematic doctrinal work*, his *Exposition* of Bhoja's *The Illumination of the Categories* (interspersed with occasional comment) to enable the reader, as much as possible, to savor Aghora's thought at first hand. This is the content of Chapter IV.

Fifth, and last, *of comparing the Siddhānta with another sophisticated theological tradition—the Catholic—with the same doctrinal preoccupations*, on the assumption that comparison of doctrines similar in some aspects and divergent in others, helps one to assess the distinctiveness of each. I have chosen the Catholic tradition, because, of all religious institutions with ecumenical interests, few others seem to approach it in magnitude of importance and perhaps even in fervor of ecumenical commitment. Besides, I am concerned with ascertaining the element of supernatural revelations in the Siddhānta, and to establish further bases of contact between these two ancient traditions. From the many possible topics of comparison, I have selected that of the unity and plurality in God, which for Catholicism represents its sublimest mystery, the Trinity; and for the Siddhānta either the constitution of the deity, as in Bhoja's Siddhānta, or one of its most crucial or embarrassing problems, as in Aghora's. These topics have been deal with in Chapter V, "A Comparison Between Some Christian and Siddhānta Doctrines."

The core of this book is the Sanskrit text, *Tattvaprakāśikāvyākhyā* (vv. 1-24), by Aghoraśiva (see Appendix 6), studied in its historical, literary, and theological contexts. In order to give the reader a *sense* of the meaning behind the Sanskrit terms, I have translated them into English. To minimize the risk of excluding alternative meanings, however, I have given the original word

immediately following the translation when it appears for the first time. Whenever the context demands clarification, repetitions occur. The Sanskrit quotations retain their original form, i.e., observing rules of combination (*sandhi*), except when secondary sources separate the words.

The glossary contains the Sanskrit terms and their meanings as they appear in this book. Generally all listings follow the English alphabetizing, except Appendix 2, "The Alphabetical List of the Āgamas," which follows the Sanskrit alphabet.

The bibliography includes only the sources used extensively to analyze the Siddhānta's thought. Other related sources are given in Appendixes 2-4.

A word of caution about the use of primary texts: One of the monumental tasks facing scholars is the development of critical Hindu texts. I have used what was available to me at the time of writing this book. With the exception of the main text discussed in this book, *Tattvaprakāśikāvyākhyā*, I have relied on translations of both Sanskrit and Tamil texts.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AP	*Aṣṭaprakaraṇa*, ed. N. Kriṣṇa Śāstri
Brh. Up.	*Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*
CCSL	*Corpus Christianorum.* Series Latina
Chand. Up.	*Chāndogya Upaniṣad*
EI	*Epigraphia Indica*
HB	*Historical Bulletin*
Katha. Up.	*Kaṭha Upaniṣad*
TP	Bhoja, *Tattvaprakāśikā*, (*The Illumination of the Categories*)
TPV	Aghoraśiva, *Tattvaprakāśikāvyākhyā* (commentary on *The Illumination of the Categories*)
IA	*Indian Antiquary*
IHQ	*Indian Historical Quarterly*
JAHRS	*Journal of Andhra Historical Research Society*
MASI	*Memoirs of the Archeological Survey of India*
MB	*Mahābhārata*
Mund. Up.	*Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad*
NEB	*The New English Bible*
PG	*Patrologiae cursus completus*
PL	*Patrologiae cursus completus, Series latina*, ed. J.P. Migne
PB	*Pauṣkara Bhāṣya*
PS	*Pāśupata Sūtras*
RT	*Ratna Traya* ed. N. Kriṣṇa Śāstri
SC	*Sources chretiennes*
ST	*Studi e testi, Catechetical Homilies*
Śvet. Up.	*Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad*
Tait Up.	*Taittirīya Upaniṣad*

INTRODUCTION

A problem that has occupied the minds of theologians is how—given that the transcendent exists—to justify the coexistence of the phenomenal. In Christian terms—how to harmonize the necessity and omniperfection of God with the contingency and limitedness of the creature: indeed, to explain how, granting the inclusiveness of divine omniperfection, creaturely existence is at all possible; for the necessary and eternal self-subsistence of the one seems to obliterate the contingent and creaturely individuality of the other.

One solution has consisted precisely in obliterating the contingent individuality of the creature while attributing to it the eternal self-subsistence of God. In other words, of asserting the creature to be, *qua* real, God, and *qua* creature, nothing. Such is the position of extreme monism, which declares all reality to be one, and identical with the transcendent; hence, it may be called the theology of Identity.

A more frequent solution has been identifying the contingent individuality with the eternal subsistence—without obliterating the contingence, but allowing it a lower degree of reality. As with the previous solution, all reality is declared to be entitatively one, with the unity being not undifferentiated but bipolar, that is, differentiated into the aspects of transcendent and phenomenal. Here difference does not eliminate identity, but qualifies it: hence such a theology may be called one of Difference-in-Identity.

There is a third solution, extremely opposed to the first. Like it, it grants eternal self-subsistence to the creature, but asserts this "creaturely" self-subsistence to be *other* than God's. However, the creature's eternal being is amenable to accidental or modal change, which may be caused by God. On the other hand, God's being is beyond the creature's causality; hence only God possesses independence in a plenary fashion. This solution supposes reality's supreme mode to be not Identity or Difference-in-Identity, but Difference, denying universal reality to be entitatively unique; in some cases (as in the Hindu Sāṅkhya system)

denying that any of that reality's multiple beings possesses plenary independence.

I will designate this triad of solutions as the Trichotomy. In all of them both the transcendent and the phenomenal possess an eternal subsistence or beginningless existentiality, whether it be entitatively identical or diverse when taken all together. The Trichotomy is the framework within which the Indic theologies articulate. Indeed it is the framework of most—if not all—of the known theologies except the creationistic, which offer a radically different solution to the problem of the relationship of the transcendent and the phenomenal. Creationism wholly denies eternal self-subsistence to the creature (affirming such to be an attribute exclusive to God), and allows the creature only its contingent individuality—which it declares exists only through the voluntary activity of the Creator. Creationism is thus the radical opposite of the monism which endows the creature with the divine subsistence and divests it of creaturely individuality. As will have been observed, creationism is less concerned with the static entitative connection—whether of Identity or Difference—between Creator and creature, than with *total caused dependence*. It makes such dependence the essence of the creature, and it makes causal independence the essence of God. In the words of Suarez:

> It must be presupposed at the outset (what is certain according to all) that created being, insofar as it is that, essentially includes dependence on the first and increate being. . . . Hence from this principle it follows, first, that created being is under God's dominion, insofar as its being is concerned: that is to say, it is subject to God in such a way, that it can be reduced by Him to nothing, and be deprived of its being by the sole suspension of the influx whereby He conserves it. . . . It belongs absolutely to God's essence that He have total dominion over all created beings, either actually or potentially, so that if He were to wish to produce them, He would be unable to place them outside His dominion. Therefore, conversely, and with the same proportion, it belongs to the created being's essence to be ever subject to God and under His dominion, in such a way that it can be reduced to nothing....[1]

1. "Principio igitur supponendum est (id quod est certum apud omnes)

In the language of the Trichotomy, creationism is a theology of Difference. So is the Śaiva Siddhānta, but it is a theology of Difference predicating eternal subsistence not only to God, whom it calls Master (*pati*), but also to the finite soul, whom it terms Beast (*paśu*), as well as the cause of the soul's bondage, termed Bond (*pāśa*). It is also a theology of Difference which is a sort of intermediary between other Indic theologies of Difference and those of Difference-in-Identity. Before we examine why this is so, we might remark that creationism appears to harmonize God's transcendence with the existence of the phenomenal more easily than any Trichotomous doctrine—provided, of course, that the possibility of the *creatio ex nihilo* is granted, and the possibility appears to be denied by all theologies aware of the doctrine except by those representing orthodoxy in Christianity, Judaism and Islam. Georges Florovsky, a contemporary orthodox scholar, clarifies the Christian position thus:

> Properly speaking, the creatures simply *do not* exist before they *come* to existence in their own and temporal nature. The *idea* of the world is not yet the world *itself*. And there is an absolute and qualitative *hiatus*, a true *distance of nature*—there is no continuous or inevitable passage between the two. Transition from the "notion" or "pattern" (the Divine) to the "act" and actualization is *not* a process *in* the Divine idea, but exactly the emergence, creation and *first* positing of the *new* reality, that, in the strictest sense, simply did not exist at all or, as it were is preceded on its own level and in its own kind, by "nothingness" ("out of" which it first emerges), i.e. precisely by nothing at all.[1]

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ens creatum, quatenus tale est, essentialiter includere dependentiam a primo et increato ente . . . . Ex hoc ergo principio sequitur primo, omne ens creatum esse sub dominio Dei, quantum ad suum esse, id est, ita esse subjectum Deo, ut ab illo possit in nihilum redigi, et privari suo esse, per solam suspensionem illius influxus, quo ipsum conservat . . . absolute est de essentia Dei, ut habeat plenum dominium omnium creatorum entium, vel actu, vel potestate, ita ut si velit illa producere, non possit extra suum dominium illa constituere; ergo, e converso, seu eadem proportione est de essentia entis creati, ut semper sit subjectum Deo, et sub ejus dominio, ita ut ab ipso possit in nihilum redigi." Francisco Suarez, *Disputationes Metaphysicae*, disp. 31, sect. 14, nn. 3 & 4, in *Opera Omnia*, Vivès edition (Parisiis: L. Vivès, 1856-1878), 36 : 308.

1. Georges Florovski, "The Idea of Creation in Christian Philosophy," *Eastern Church Quarterly* 8 (Supplement 1949):64.

However, if God is the only independent and uncaused being, and needs to presuppose nothing existent in order to cause beings to exist, then indeed He possesses the power to bridge the abyss between nonbeing and being, and to cause beings to exist where they did not in any way exist before. And when caused to exist, these beings, the creatures, continue to be intrinsically nothing, since they continue to exist solely through divine causality, and not of themselves. The divine causality is therefore intimately present in them through its power, for not to be present would mean withdrawal of their support, in consequence of which they would collapse into their intrinsic and original non-being. Hence God, whether the creatures exist or not, is the only necessary self-subsistence; and the creatures, whether they exist or not, are intrinsically nothing. Thus, at one stroke, creationism both establishes and bridges the gulf between God and the creature. Establishes it, through affirming God's sole independence and the creature's nothingness; bridges it, through affirming the intimate compenetration of created being by the Creator's power.

The theologies of Difference-in-Identity attempt to bridge this gulf differently through their doctrine of devolving emanations or manifestations. Unlike creationism, they feel that a single leap does not suffice to bridge this gulf. In their view, the descent from the summit of plenitude (God) to the nadir of imperfection (the creature) is best realized in stages, where the plenitude gradually diminishes but without appearing to diminish. For nothing is inexhaustible but divine plenitude. In the words of the venerable *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*:

> That is fullness, this is fullness; fullness proceeds from fullness. When one takes fullness out of fullness, fullness remains (3:1:1).

Yet, however imperceptibly the primordial fullness is diminished, there must come a stage when the infinite perfection must be seen to have been abandoned, and at least what has been taken out must seem less full than what remains. Such a stage is the opportune moment for the theologies of Difference-in-Identity to ask themselves why—in the words of a hostile critic, the Dualist Vedāntin Jayatīrtha—"we must postulate that the

Supreme Self personally sunders His own being by means of those conditionings dependent upon Himself, and furnished His particle, the soul, with misery and other imperfections."[1] The Śaiva Difference-in-Identity theologian Somānanda queries: "How can the Exalted have an impulse to the vile [how can God, quiescent in His connatural joy, have an urge to transform himself into imperfect things]?"

He answers, with the other Difference-and-Identity schools, that it is due to *play* or cosmic frolic (*līlā*). As Somānanda puts it:

> His five activities—creation, conservation, dissolution, graciousness and obscuration—are all intrinsically Śiva-natured: so Śiva, engaging in them out of delight at His natural impulse, is not deserving of blame.[2]

Līlā, then, is an innate self-delighting and motiveless impulse which causes the transcendental to overflow into the world of phenomena, and to reabsorb that world into itself.

The emanations are steps enabling not only the descent of divine plenitude into creaturely imperfection, but also the ascent of the imperfection to the plenitude. In the words of Abhinavagupta:

> The Self is embodied Light, and is Śiva, the sovereignly free. Impelled by the exhilaration of His Freedom, He obscures His essence, and then discloses It in plenitude. (*Tantrasāra*, 1)

To come back to the Siddhānta, it will help to bring out its distinctive character if we compare it with other theologies; and first with those of Difference, the most prominent Indic representatives being the Sāṅkhya and the Dualist Vedānta. We must bear in mind that the Siddhānta has three ultimates, or increate and indestructible categories—Master, Beast and Bond. The first of these is transcendent above the others. But the Sāṅkhya has no transcendent reality. Its universe is constituted of two ultimates, the static principle Spirit (*puruṣa*) and the

1. Jayatīrtha, *The Nectar of Logic* (*Nyāyasudhā*) on Madhva's *Anuvyākhyāna* on 3:2, *adhyāya* 10 (Pereira, p. 137).
2. Somānanda, *Śivadṛṣṭi*, *āhnika* 1 (Pereira, p. 365).

dynamic principle Matter or Nature (*prakṛti*). To reconcile the perfection of God with the limitation of the creature is thus, for the Sāṅkhya, a null problem. On the other hand, it is Dualist Vedānta's cardinal problem, and is resolved by attributing independence to God and dependence to the world, thus approaching creationism. In the words of Jayatīrtha:

> If the question is raised whether God does or does not follow a determined order of efficient and material causes, I answer that He does. It is thus proper to ascribe causality to Matter. But that order does not, as in the case of a potter, involve a failure of power when those causes are missing or change during causation—so implying a loss of His independence and of their dependence: It is an order unreservedly subject to His will. Thus it is proper to ascribe independence to God.[1]

However, this is not creationism, for the creature does not depend on God for its entire being or for its nature; the nature of Matter and "of conscious beings is eternal [or increate]"[2]; the creature depends on God only for a more developed *state* of being: it cannot be annihilated.

It may, however, be asked why beings whose nature and existence are basically independent of God's causality need that causality at all to perfect their nature and existence. Difference seems to render God superfluous, and actually does in the Sāṅkhya: which is probably why most Indic theologies reject Difference, and postulate Difference-in-Identity as reality's ultimate mode. This confers on the creature an inferior status of being, accidental, conditioned, and often transient. And though the creature is eternally subsistent, since it is identical with the unique ultimate reality, it is not strictly speaking that subsistence itself, but only an inferior mode of being participating in that subsistence through Identity, and its perfect and imperfect modes of being (God and the world) represent Difference.

Having compared the Siddhānta with theologies of Difference, let us now compare it with some of those of Difference-in-Identity.

1. Jayatīrtha, on 2:1, *adhikaraṇa* 9.6
2. Vyāsarāya, *Tātparyacandrikā* on Jayatīrtha's *Tattvaprakāśikā* on Madhva's *Brahmasūtrabhāṣyam* on 2:1:35-37. (Pereira, p. 152).

Reality's bipolar nature can be expressed in more ways than one. One way is to transform the dual static and dynamic ultimates of the Sāṅkhya into the two poles of a unique ultimate, the one changeless and the other self-diversifying. There is perhaps no better model for a theology of this kind than that of the Śaiva school known as Triadism (*trika*). It is an idealist system for which the unique bipolar reality is Consciousness (*cit*) or Light (*prakāśa*). Its poles are the trans-universal (*viśvottīrṇa*) or inconceptualizable, known as the Supreme Śiva (*Paramaśiva*) and the universal (*viśvamaya*) or conceptualizable. The latter pole differentiates itself into two Ways (*adhva*), the Pure Way, (*śuddhādhva*) and the Impure Way (*aśuddhādhva*). The Pure Way's self-differentiations or emanations remain within the realm of transcendence, but prepare the way for the plunge into the depths of the phenomenal known as the Impure Way. The process constituting the Ways can be expressed in the following sentence: "I am this (un)manifested universe."

The Pure Way actualizes the "I am this" part of the sentence. If an idealist system such as the Triadic wishes to reduce all differentiations to a primordial differentiation, it can find none better than the subject-object binary. In the Pure Way, then, this subject-object differentiation becomes fully actualized. But limitedness and contingence only supervene in the Impure Way, which actualizes the "unmanifested" (or better still "manifested") "universe" part of the sentence.

Five Categories are needed to achieve the subject-object differentiation. They are Śiva, Energy (*śakti*), The Ever Beneficent (*sadāśiva*), The Supreme Lord (*īśvara*) and Pure Wisdom (*śuddhavidyā*). They represent five energies—respectively those of Consciousness, Joy, Will, Knowledge, and Action. Of these Consciousness and Joy constitute, so to speak, the undifferentiated substance of the divinity, which is thus furnished with a triad of Energies—of Will, Knowledge and Action.

The significance of these principles is as follows. *Śiva* comprehends the total content of the sentence "I am this unmanifested universe" in a state of undifferentiation, but about to impinge on differentiation. In *Energy* the "I" or subject emerges. In *The Ever Beneficent*, the phrase "I am this" evolves, but with an emphasis on the subject, the "I". In *The Supreme Lord*, the object is emphasized, and the phrase reads "I am THIS."

Finally, in *Pure Wisdom* both subject and object are emphasized, and the phrase reads "I AM THIS". The plunge into the phenomenal world is precipitated by Self-Obscuration or Illusion (*māyā*) which wholly darkens the luminosity of the Pure Way—but subsequently allows partial glimmers to reappear in the form of the Five Sheaths (*kañcuka*). They are Aptitude (*kalā*), Knowledge (*vidyā*), Desire (*rāga*), Time (*kāla*) and Fate (*niyati*). Further emanations are the Sāṅkhya Spirit (*puruṣa*) and Matter (*prakṛti*). "Spirit" stands for an endless number of inert consciousnesses; "Matter," for the principle of dynamic evolution, constituted of the three Attributes (*guṇas*), Brightness (*sattva*), Passion (*rajas*) and Darkness (*tamas*), and originating two fundamental evolutes, Instinct (*buddhi*) and Egoism (*ahaṅkāra*).

At least up to the time of its systematization by Bhoja, the Siddhānta appears to have affirmed the existence of emanations within Śiva, or Master—a doctrine which clearly sets it apart from the other schools of Difference (which deny any such emanations) and constitutes it as an intermediary between the latter and the schools of Difference-in-Identity. As in Triadism, the Siddhānta's divine emanations are five and have the same names. These emanations also represent the same five energies, but the Siddhānta, perhaps more consequently, identifies the Energy of Action with the Supreme Lord, and the Energy of Knowledge with Pure Wisdom. But the emanations are interpreted differently. As Bhoja sees it, the first principle, *Śiva*, is the cause of the four succeeding ones; in Him the Triad of Energies or Powers—of Will, Knowledge and Action are subsistent undifferentiatedly. In the second principle, Energy, the power of Will is made manifest. The remaining three principles manifest the powers of Knowledge and Action. In *The Ever Beneficent*, both powers emerge; in the *Supreme Lord*, Action is predominant, and in *Pure Wisdom*, knowledge is. All these principles remain within the realm of the transcendent: there is no plunge into the phenomenal.[1]

1. Bhoja, *Tattvaprakāśikā*, ed. with the commentary of Aghoraśiva by N. Kriṣṇa Śāstri in his *Aṣṭaprakaraṇa*. 2 parts (Devakottai-Śaiva Siddhānta Paripālana Saṁgha, 1923-25), pt.1, ch.1, vv. 5-10. Hereafter cited as *TP*. The abbreviation TPV will be used when referring to Aghoraśiva's Commentary on a particular verse in *Tattvaprakāśikā*.

Divine transcendence is thus preserved from the taint of the phenomenal, but the whole purpose of the emanations—as understood by the theologies of Difference-in-Identity—is frustrated. For in their view transcendent self differentiates precisely in order to plunge into the phenomenal, and to that extent, empties itself of its transcendence. If a self-emptying (*kenosis*) of this kind is not its intent, why then does it self-differentiate? Bhoja answers :

> To favor the conscious and unconscious, the Lord, in assuming those forms, does a kindness to intelligent beings, whose powers are inhibited by the Pollution without beginning (*TP* 34).

But this—in the view of the schools like the Dualist Vedānta, zealous to preserve God's sovereignty—would appear to seriously compromise divine transcendence. For if God is truly sovereign, the Pollution (or *karma*) cannot have inhibited the powers of intelligent beings independently of His consent, or indeed, causality. Says Dualist Vedāntin Vyāsarāya:

> You cannot say that He is not to blame [for the evil in the world], because He is only acting in compliance of the soul's karma, because karma itself, as Revelation declares, is caused by God. ...[1]

It appears, then, that God first inhibits the creatures' powers, and then self-differentiates into the five emanations to free those creatures from the inhibition. Now these five Pure Principles, as Bhoja clearly seems to imply, belong to the intrinsic constitution of the divine nature:

> These five Principles have no sequence, since they are untouched by time. The sequence postulated in this teaching is by sole reason of...function.
> This Principle is in reality one, known as Śiva, though arrayed with a myriad wondrous energies. It is through their different functions that we conceive its differences (*TP* 32-33).

1. Vyāsarāya, *Tātparyacandrikā* (quoted in Pereira, p. 150).

God is therefore dependent on the states of the creature (bondage and liberation) for the structure of His own being. Nothing would seem to compromise divine transcendence more—at least to a theologian like Aghoraśiva, who declared that *self-differentiation was possible only in unconscious substances* (as the Sāṅkhyas had taught) *and not in the sovereign conscious substance that is God.* The rigorous application of this principle brought about an astounding change in the metaphysics of the Siddhānta, as Bhoja appears to have understood it. The Five Pure Principles were asserted to belong to the Category Bond, and not to the Category Master. Śiva, Energy, The Ever Beneficent, the Supreme Lord and, yes, Pure Wisdom itself, were now modes of an unconscious substance.

Aghoraśiva was impelled to make this startling change—thus inaugurating a new Siddhānta as opposed to the old one of Bhoja—because of the threat of the Siddhānta monists. Chief among these monists was Śrīkumāra; like them he was bent on transforming the system into a theology of Difference-in-Identity. These monists existed some time between Aghoraśiva and Bhoja, for the latter shows no awareness of them or of the problem they were desperately trying to resolve—the trichotomous relationship of the entities of God and the world. The only efficacious means of rebutting the monist threat, as Aghoraśiva saw it, was to deny any possibility of self-diversification in God. For, in the monist view, such a self-diversification, through emanations however "pure", was only a preliminary to the plunge into the phenomenal. And this plunge, as the Triadists held, was through some kind of self-obscuration or self-pollution. Such was the view of the Siddhānta author of *The Śaiva Mystery* (*Śaivarahasyam*) whom Śrīkumāra cites with approval. In the opinion of this author, the three ultimate categories of the Siddhānta are only aspects of a supreme unitary reality, Śiva:

> For Śiva Himself—His innate perfection obscured by the Infinitesimal Pollution—experiences the condition of Beast. Yet that Pollution, whereby His power is restricted in any fashion at all, is of the Śiva-nature itself.[1]

1. "anubhavati hi paśubhāvaṃ śiva evāṇavatirohitātmaguṇaḥ. so'pi malo yaḥ kaścana śaktilavaḥ sarvathā śārvaḥ." Quoted in Śrīkumāra, *The*

In other words, the one reality has two poles—of perfection and of Pollution; respectively, Master and Bond. Beast, the third Siddhānta category, is only Master as polluted by Bond.

Thus far we have compared the Siddhānta to some other theologies of Difference and of Difference-in-Identity, with which it shares problems and solutions. Let us finally compare it with theologies with which it may be expected to share less of both. First, the theologies of Identity, which in their varieties postulate as their unique ultimate reality an undifferentiated Being (*sanmātra, nirviśeṣa*), the Brahman. The latter, however, is not the principle of the Difference we perceive in experience; such a perception is owed to a beginningless Ignorance (*avidyā*) or Illusion (*māyā*), superposed on the Brahman. The world originates from the Brahman as effect evolves from cause. According to the Sāṅkhya cosmology, that is the basis of most Vedāntic thought; causality is only the transformation (*pariṇāma*) of cause (*kāraṇa*) into effect (*kārya*). The effect is really pre-existent (*satkārya*) as cause; the transformation of the one into the other, though real, is only a diversity of manifestation. In other words, the effect is only the cause diversely manifested. But the ontology of the Identity schools of Nondualism (*advaita*) does not allow a real transformation of the Brahman, but at most an illusory one, a "transmogrification" (*vivarta* lit. "modification") occasioned in appearance by the beginningless illusion. However, as the Siddhānta theologians unanimously reject transmogrification, no dialogue with Nondualism is possible.

Let us, therefore, turn to creationism. This doctrine is dogma in Islam and has been propounded by the Apologetic School (*kālam*), but has been rejected by outstanding Islamic theologians—like Avicenna, Al Ghazzali in his mystical works, Ibn Arabi, Al-Suhrawardy and Mulla Sadra—who have consistently adopted the emanationist model. It is only in Christianity—as interpreted by Orthodox and Catholic theologians—that creationism has successfully withstood monist attacks. This is perhaps because the allure of emanationism—as Christian theologians are convinced—has been absorbed by the doctrine of the Trinity,

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Tattvaprakāśa of Śrī Bhoja Deva with the commentary *Tātparyadīpikā of Śrīkumāra*, ed. T. Gaṇapati Śāstri, Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, no. 68 (Trivandrum, 1920), p. 24.

and there exalted to a sublimity beyond emanationism's reach. It is with orthodox Christian creationism that the Siddhānta of Aghoraśiva and Bhoja has at least two important points of contact.

1. *That God's transcendence is rooted in the incomposite simplicity of His being.* Says Aghoraśiva, speaking of Śiva:

> That Principle is "unique," because it is the supreme cause. Since, as has been said, manifoldness is inconscient, manifoldness in Śiva would entail his being an effect, like a pot (*TPV* 25).

Aghoraśiva, however, does not deny all differentiation in God, but only the differentiation arising from the transformation of a material cause. The highest material cause is Śiva, the origin of the emanations of the Pure Way, known as the "Principles." Bhoja calls this Śiva "the cause of all the Principles." and these words, in Aghoraśiva's view,

> must not be understood to apply to the Supreme Śiva or to His Energy, because, as the reference is to the Principles that comprise the emanations from Śiva down to the earth, the words cannot allude to anything that transcends these Principles [as do the Supreme Śiva and His Energy]. Were we to postulate them as the material cause of the Pure Way in the form of the Śiva Principle, their [consequent] liability to transformation would entail their being inconscient, which would be fallacious (*TPV* 25).

In Aghoraśiva's opinion, then, the pentad of Principles constituting Śiva are transformations, and are impermissible in God; but the binary Energizer-Energy in the Supreme Śiva are not transformations, but an eternally subsistent *binity* or dyad predicable of the divine nature.

Similar ideas are voiced in Catholic theology by Aghora's contemporary, Domingo Gundisalvo (Gundisalinus), theologian and translator of Arabic theological classics into Latin. For this twelfth century follower of the Islamic Neoplatonists, God, the One, is at the summit of the scale of being, and matter at the nadir. God's outstanding characteristic being unity, matter's needs to be multitude. And just as immutability, as Gundisalvo

believes, is rooted in unity, so must mutability be rooted in manifoldness. As Aghoraśiva would have put it, "manifoldness is inconscient." Gundisalvo goes on to say that spiritual substances gain in unity and immutability the further they move from matter; while corporal ones acquire greater diversity and changefulness the more they become charged with matter. Gundisalvo's words (attributed in fairly recent times to Boethius):

> The closer a unity is to the first and true unity, the more one and simple the matter formed by it will be. And conversely, the more remote it is from the first unity, the more multiple and composite it will be.[1]

All of which is a somewhat diverse application of the identical principle shared by Aghoraśiva and Gundisalvo.

2. *That there is a plurality in God which does not imperil His unity.* In the splendid untranslatable words of Gregory of Nazianzen: "The Godhead is undivided in divisions,"[2] or, as Bhoja's contemporary Anselm, the father of Scholasticism and the leading light of Benedictine theology, puts it,

> ...there is, in the supreme unity, a certain wondrous plurality that is both ineffable and inevitable...,[3]

with which formulations both Bhoja (with his Pentad of Principles) and Aghoraśiva (with his bipolar Supreme Śiva) would have agreed. Of course, Anselm is thinking of the Trinity, the supreme mystery of the Christian faith; and a mystery, in Chris-

1. "Quanto enim unaquaeque unitas propinquior fuerit primae et verae unitati, tanto materia formata per illam erit magis una et simplex; et e converso quanto remotior fuerit a prima unitate, tanto erit multiplicior, et compositior...." Gundisalvo, *De unitate et uno* in Jacques Paul Migne, 1800-1875, *Patrologiae cursus completus* Series latina....1842-1905 (Paris, 1844), 43:1076B. Hereafter cited as Migne, *PL*. Migne attributes the work to Boethius.

2. "[indivisa in divisis deitas]." Gregory of Nazianzen, or. 31.13 in Jaques Paul Migne, 1800-1875, ed. *Patrologiae cursus completus*....Series graeca ....1857-1905 (Paris, 1857), 36:149. Hereafter cited as Migne, *PG*.

3. "....mira quaedam tam ineffabillis quam inevitabilis in summa unitate probatur esse pluralitas...." Anselm, *Monologion*, 43. Franciscus Salesius Schmitt, *Sancti Anselmi Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi Opera Omnia* (Edinburgh: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1946), 1:59.

tian belief, is a truth about God, beyond the capacity of created intelligence to attain, and knowable only through divine revelation. In the words of Suárez:

> There is no natural object, which could rouse such an inquiry in man. At all events, if he were to begin to have doubts about the plurality of persons, he would then believe he was as though thinking of the plurality of gods. Or conversely, if he were certain about the unity of God, he would have no doubts about the plurality of persons [being convinced such a plurality to be impossible]. Therefore the union of the plurality of persons with the unity of God, in which the altitude of this mystery is situated, would at once appear intrinsically impossible to the intellect abandoned by divine Revelation, which would thus admit no inquiry as regards the contrary truth.[1]

But both Aghoraśiva and Bhoja tenaciously hold to the unity of the nature of God and to the plurality of conscious individuals that share the divine subsistence, which can be strictly described as "persons," a person being, for Catholic theology, no more than an individual of an intelligential nature, *suppositum intellectualis naturae*.[2] It seems to follow then that the Siddhānta conviction of a pluriform unity in God derives from a supernatural revelation in the Christian sense. It is true that the Siddhānta does not harmonize divine unity and plurality in the same way as Scholasticism, but the orthodox formulations of the Christian creeds are the term of a long and painful evolution of ideas. In their search for a definitive formulation, the early Christian theologians, especially the so-called Modalist Monarchians (in parti-

1. "Nullum est naturale objectum, quod talem cognitionem vel inquisitionem in homine excitare possit, vel certe si dubitare inciperet de pluralitate personarum, statim crederet perinde id esse ac cogitare de pluralitate Deorum, vel e converso, si certus existeret de unitate Dei, nunquam dubitaret de pluralitate personarum. Conjunctio ergo pluralitatis personarum cum unitate Dei, in qua posita est altitudo mysterii, statim appareret per se impossibilis intellectui destituto revelatione divina, ideoque nullam circa contrariam veritatem inquisitionem admitteret." Suarez, *De Deo Uno et Trino*, Tractatus III: *De Sanctissimo Trinitatis Mysterio*, lib. 1, cap.11, n.11

2. Suárez, cap.3, n.3

cular, Sabellius),[1] often expressed their understanding of the Trinity in formulas (rejected as unorthodox) which coincide with those used by the Siddhānta to articulate their own understanding of the multiformity in the one Śiva nature: formulas such as unity of principle and diversity of function, used by Bhoja; or unity of substance and diversity of essential attribute, employed by the author of *The Śaiva Mystery*. Speaking of Śiva and His Energy, he says:

> Nonduality and duality somehow occur together as in fire and its heat, since unity of being belongs to Śiva and His Energy, as in a gem and its glow.[2]

However, whatever their differences in interpretation, Christians and Siddhāntins agree that the godhead is not divided in divisions: *indivisa in divisis deitas*.

Here it might be asked why orthodox Christian theology was not content with the Sabellian (and Siddhānta) understanding of the formula, but had to press on to discover a distinctive interpretation of its own—as "one nature or essence in three persons," which was later interpreted to mean "one absolute substance (the deity) in three subsistent relations" (the Triad of persons). The answer is that Christian doctrines demanded a greater distinction between the members of the Trinity than was furnished by concepts such as "functions" or "names,." To take one example, it was a basic tenet of Christian doctrine that only the second of the three members, the Son, had suffered and died; and if the Son were the same individual as the first member, the Father, different from Him only as a function or name, then

1. "Sabellius, we are told, regarded the Godhead as a monad. . .which expressed itself in three operations. . .the Father was, as it were, the form or essence, and the Son and the Spirit His modes of self-experession." J. N. D. Kelly, *Early Christian Doctrines*. 5th ed. (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1977), p. 122.

2. "agnyauṣṇyavadadvaidham dvaidham ca mithaḥ kathañcana dadhāte. śaktiśivau vastvaikyam maṇiprabhāvad yato yuktam." Quoted by Śrīkumāra, p. 18. These words are identical in substance with those of Sabellius, who is said to have maintained "that the terms Father and Son and Holy Spirit are but actions. . . or names. . .and are to be compared to 'the light and the heat and the circular form in the sun.' " H. A. Wolfson, *The Philosophy of the Church Fathers*. 3rd ed. rev. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1970), p. 584.

the Father Himself can be said to have suffered and died—a consequence wholly unacceptable to orthodox Christian belief. On the other hand, the needs of Siddhānta doctrine itself were adequately met by the concepts of "function" and "name," which is undoubtedly why its theologians saw no need for inquiring into the matter further.

Chapter I

THE FORMATION OF THE SIDDHĀNTA

Introduction

Importance of the Siddhānta

The religious history of India between the sixth and twelfth centuries of the Christian era shows how Śaivism, more than most other Hindu denominations, influenced the minds and shaped the lives of a countless number of people. Manifested in many forms—some more developed than others—Śaivism appears to have reached its peak during this period. Its most developed forms or sects were the Śaiva Siddhānta, Triadism, Śaiva Nondualism (*Śivādvaita*) and Vīra Śaivism (*Vīraśaiva darśana*). The first part of this chapter is an overview of these and of the less developed, but significant Śaiva sects: Dualist Pastoralism (*Pāśupata darśana*), Monist Pastoralism (*Lākuliśa Pāśupata*), and Skullmanism (*Kāpālika*). The second part is an inquiry into the origins and institutionalization of the Siddhānta; an appraisal of the causes of its success; and an estimate of its diffusion throughout Central and South India by means of the sub-orders which propagated its teachings.

The Sources of Our Knowledge of the Śaiva Sects

The chief sources which give us valuable information on the names and doctrines of the various Śaiva sects are: the *Purāṇas*;[1] *Tantras* and Āgamas;[2] copper plates and inscriptions;[3] and works

1. The *Vāmana Purāṇa* lists four sects: Śaiva, Pāśupata, Kālavadana, and Kāpālika. The *Śiva Purāṇa* lists four : Śaiva Siddhānta-Mārgastha, Śaiva Pāśupata, Śaiva Mahāvratadhara, and Kāpālika. The *Skanda*, *Liṅga* and *Vāyu Purāṇas* also give accounts of various Śaiva sects. V. S. Pathak, "Śaivism in Early Mediaeval India as Known from Archeological Sources Mainly Inscriptions," *Bhāratī*: Bulletin of the College of Indology, no. 3 (1959-60), p. 2.

2. The *Svāyaṃbhuva Tantra* and the *Suprabheda Āgama* each lists four: Śaiva, Pāśupata, Sauma and Lākula. Pathak, p. 3. For a discussion of the Āgamas, see *infra* Chapter II.

3. Some names of inscriptions, of plates and their available dates are as follows: (a) Malkāpuram stone inscriptions of the Kākatīya king Rudradeva

of both Śaiva and non-Śaiva theologians.[1] For instance, the *Cosmic History of the Tortoise* (*Kūrma-Purāṇa*) mentions three main divisions: 1. the "Vedic" sect of Monist Pastoralism—called "Vedic" because of its recognition of the institution of caste; 2. the Tantric, consisting of the two sects—Skullmanism (*Kāpālika darśana*) and the Fierce Face Sect (*Kālānana*; also known as *Kāruka*); 3. the Mixed (*Miśra*), whose main deity, Śiva, was worshipped with four other gods, hence its title, the Five-God-Worshipping Sect (*Pañcadeva-upāsanā*). The *Tantras* and *Āgamas*, as we shall see in the next chapter, are the scriptures on which the fundamental Śaiva teachings are based. Among the numerous inscriptions there are two, in particular, which substantiate the information on the names of Śaiva sects given in the other sources

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(1130); (b) Chandrehe inscriptions of Prabodhaśiva (973); (c) Bilhāri stone inscriptions (ca. 990); (d) Rajore inscriptions of Mathanadeva (959); (e) Jubbulpur inscription; (f) Gwalior Museum inscription; (g) Karhaḍ copper plates of Kṛṣṇa III (958); (h) Rewa copper plates of Trailokyavarmadeva; (i) Kharepatam copper plates of Raṭṭarāja of the Silahāra dynasty (1008).

In references to the Christian era, the A.D. abbreviation will be omitted, as above.

1. The works of theologians fall into three groups: (1) Theologians of the relevant Śaiva Schools (see Chapters I and II).

(2) Vedāntic and other theologians who have written commentaries on Bādarāyaṇa's *Aphorisms on the Brahman* (*Bramasūtrāṇi*):

(a) Nondualist writings: Rāmānuja, *The Glory Exposition* (*Śrībhāṣyam*); Sudarśana Sūri, *Illumination of the Revealed* (*Śrutaprakāśikā*); Śaṅkara, *The Embodied Spirit Exposition* (*Śārīraka Bhāṣyam*); Vācaspati Miśra, *The Irradiant* (*Bhāmatī*); Ānandagiri, *The Ascertainment of Principles* (*Nyāyanirṇaya*); Govindānanda, *The Jewel Glow* (*Ratnaprabhā*).

(b) Dualist writings: Madhva, *Explanation* (*on the Aphorisms of the Brahman*) (*Anuvyākhyānam*); Jayatīrtha, *The Nectar of Logic* (*Nyāyasudhā*) on Madhva's *Bhāṣya*; Vyāsatīrtha, *The Moonlight of Meaning* (*Tātparya-candrikā*) on Madhva's *Bhāṣya*;

(c) Pure Nondualist writings: Vallabha, *The Minute Exposition* (*Aṇubhāṣyam*); Puruṣottama Pītāmbara, *Light on the Exposition of Vallabha* (*Bhāṣya-prakāśa*).

(d) Śrīpati, *Giver of Good Fortune Exposition* (*Śrīkarabhāṣyam*); Yāmuna, *The Authority of Sacred Tradition* (*Āgamaprāmāṇyam*).

(3) Historians of Indic theology:

(a) Haribhadrasūri, *The Collection of the Six Systems* (*Ṣaḍdarśana Samuccaya*).

(b) Maṇibhadrasūri, *The Small Commentary* (*Laghvī*).

(c) Guṇaratnasūri, *The Great Commentary* (*Bṛhatī*).

(d) Rājaśekhara, *The Collection of the Six Systems* (*Ṣaḍdarśana Samuccaya*).

mentioned above. The first group, the *Malkāpuram Stone Inscriptions* of the Kākatīya king Rudradeva (1133), mentions four main sects: 1. the Śaiva or Śaiva Siddhānta; 2. the Fierce Face Sect; 3. the Dispensation of Śiva (*Śiva Śāsana*); 4. Dualist Pastoralism. The second group, consisting of some South Indian Inscriptions, refer to the "six cults" (*samaya*), the sects of the Terrifier God (*Bhairava*), the Left (*Vāma*), the Fierce Mouth (*Kālamukha*), the Great Vow (*Mahāvrata*) Holder, the Dualist Pastoralist, and the Śaiva.[1]

The Identity of the Sects

The Śaiva sects which are known to us from the above sources fall into three different categories: (1) Those identifiable in name and doctrine such as Dualist Pastoralism, Monist Pastoralism, Triadism, and the Siddhānta; (2) those identifiable in name only as, for instance, the Left and the Terrifier God Sects; (3) those whose names are synonymous with the sects of category (1), as, for example, the Great Vow Holder Sect sometimes identified with Skullmanism, the Compassionist (or *Kāruṇika*) Sect, and the ambiguous sect of *Kāruka*. The first group can be further classified into the Early and the Developed Sects. The criteria for this distinction are the use of (a) literary forms and (b) philosophical vocabulary, especially as developed by the Logicists (*Naiyāyikas*). The Early Sects such as Dualist Pastoralism, Monist Pastoralism, and Skullmanism used two literary forms: the purāṇic (scriptural) and the *sūtra* (aphoristic); and their philosophical terminology is generally undeveloped. The Later or Developed Sects such as the Siddhānta, Triadism, Śaiva Nondualism and Vīra Śaivism use the literary forms of the *kārikā*, or explanatory (memorial) verse, and the *bhāṣya*, or exposition, in addition to the two forms used by the Early Sects; they also employ a developed philosophical vocabulary. We shall now discuss each of these sects in the order classified above, as the Early and Developed Sects. And, as was indicated, the Siddhānta itself will be treated in the second part of this chapter.

1. Pathak, p. 3.

The Individual Sects : The Early Sects

Dualist Pastoralism

Dualist Pastoralism was one of the five Śaiva sects which recognized Śrīkaṇṭha as its founder, a god who, according to the *Mahābhārata* (*Śāntiparva*, 349) was the consort of Umā and the son of Brahmā. The sect seems to have existed prior to the second century A.D.—i.e., before Lakulīśa, the founder of Monist Pastoralism.

Since there is no extant independent source on Dualist Pastoralism, our knowledge of it is derived from references found in the later historical and theological works. These sources include the two works which bear the same title, *The Collection of the Six Systems* (*Ṣaḍdarśana Samuccaya*) by Haribhadrasūri and by Rājaśekhara, and two commentaries on Haribhadra's treatise, Maṇibhadrasūri's *Little Commentary* (*Laghvī*) and Guṇaratnasūri's *Great Commentary* (*Bṛhatī*). Vācaspati and Ānandagiri in their Vedāntic writings also inform us of some of the fundamental teachings of Dualist Pastoralism. They also help us to distinguish Dualist Pastoralism from the Monist sect of Lākulīśa which interpreted the same teachings differently. In addition to these, the monist-Vedāntin Śaṅkara, in his *Exposition on the Aphorisms on the Brahman*, criticizes a dualistic school which held that Śiva depends on the category Effect for His creative activity.[1] Since Monist Pastoralism has no such teaching, we are led to conclude that Śaṅkara must be referring to a Śaiva sect other than Monist Pastoralism.

The metaphysics of the Dualist Pastoralists was based on five primary categories: Cause (*kāraṇa*), Effect (*kārya*), Union (*yoga*), Ritual Behavior (*vidhi*), and Cessation of Pain (*duḥkhānta*). The second and the fifth categories, as interpreted by Haribhadrasūri and Rājaśekhara, are not the same as those of Monist Pastoralism. According to the two authors, the second category, Effect, is determined by Sāṅkhya concepts such as Instinct (*buddhi*, also known as the Prodigious, or *mahat*). For the Monist Pastoralists, on the other hand, Effect is constituted of the triad of Sentiency or Knowledge (*vidyā*), the Insentient or Aptitude (*kalā*) and the Sentient or Beast (*paśu*). As for the

1. *Śākara Bhāṣya* on *Vedānta Sūtra*, 480.

fifth category, liberation, Haribhadrasūri tells us that the Atomists and the Logicists, like the Dualist Pastoralists, interpret it as the cessation of pain. For the Monist Pastoralists, on the other hand, liberation is not only the cessation of pain, but also the attainment of Supreme Lordship (*aiśvarya*).[1] Furthermore, Maṇibhadrasūri, who commented on Haribhadrasūri's work, tells us that the Logicists and Atomists, like the Dualist Pastoralists, held that Īśvara (Śiva) is only the instrumental, not the material, cause of creation.[2]

The above writers seem to confirm two conclusions about Dualist Pastoralism. First, that it served as a common basis for some Logicist and Atomist doctrines. Secondly, that its metaphysics was different from Lākulīśa's, a doctrine here identified as Monist Pastoralism. Both conclusions substantiate our earlier statement that Śaṅkara's criticism is aimed at a dualist Śaiva school which is presumably that of Dualist Pastoralism. Furthermore, as we shall see later on, these teachings are similar to those of Aghoraśiva on the categories, on Śiva's causality, and on the theory of liberation. Thus, we may presume that Aghoraśiva was continuing some fundamental aspects of the dualistic tradition founded by Śrīkaṇṭha,[3] while also incorporating some aspects of Lākulīśa's newer teaching.

Monist Pastoralism

Monist Pastoralism is a theology of Difference-in-Identity formulated by Lākulīśa "The Lord of the Club" around the second century A.D. By the seventh century, it appears to have been the principal Śaiva denomination, widespread at least in the Indo-Gangetic basin and the Northern Deccan. The extent of its influence and popularity can be gauged from the fact that some of India's most impressive rock temples—as those of Elephanta, Jogeshwari and Ellora—prominently feature the image

1. Mādhava, *Sarva Darśana Saṅgraha*, trans. E. B. Cowell and A. E. Gough, Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series, vol. 10 (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Company, Limited, 1961), pp. 105-106.

2. Pandey, *Bhāskarī*, p. xi.

3. Aghoraśiva recognizes Śrīkaṇṭha as an authority. See Aghora's preface to Sadyojyoti, *Ratnatraya*, in N. Kriṣṇa Śāstri, ed., *Aṣṭaprakaraṇa*, 2 vols. (Devakottai, South India: Śaiva Siddhānta Paripālana Saṅgham, 1923-25), 2: ch.1. Hereafter *Ratnatraya* will be cited as *RT*.

of the Lord of the Club, if they are not indeed the shrines of his cult.

Lākulīśa's Pastoralism has the same primary categories as Śrīkaṇṭha's. The interpreter of the newer monist doctrine is Kauṇḍinya, the sixteenth in the line of teachers founded by Lākulīśa. Its main literary works are: (1) *Pastoralist Aphorisms* (*Pāśupata Sūtras*) of Lākulīśa with Kauṇḍinya's commentary, the *Exposition of the Five Categories* (*Pañcārthabhāṣyam*); and (2) *Gaṇa Kārikā* of Bhāsarvajña, commented on by an anonymous author.[1]

As referred to earlier, the five primary categories admitted by the Monist Pastoralists are the same as those of the Dualist Pastoralists, but interpreted differently. According to the Difference-in-Identity model which Lakulīśa's system adheres to, Śiva's freedom entails His independence from anything external to Himself in creation. Consequently, He is not conditioned even by the karma of souls. The Effect exists in Him as His power, just as the stars do in the sky or the seed within the earth. The material principle, however, is not a mere idea in Śiva's mind, but is real. The Lord wills the causal laws to operate in accordance with His creative activity. Thus, Monist Pastoralism is neither an idealism nor a pure voluntarism; Pandey describes it as a "rationalistic voluntarism."[2] Let us now examine the five primary categories individually, as explained along with their subdivisions by Kauṇḍinya in his *Exposition of the Five Categories*.

First, Cause. The Lord is the uncaused eternal cause of all that is of the nature of the Effect, namely, Knowledge (*vidyā*), Aptitude (*kalā*), and Beast (*paśu*). He is both the efficient and material cause of the universe. The universe springs from Him as the sprout from the earth. He creates, favors, and dissolves the universe. These activities are manifestations of His frolic (*līlā*) or playfulness.[3] His essential nature consists of omniscience and omnipotence. He pervades the souls through His Will.[4] He furnishes them with bodies and organs—all of which pertain to the category Effect, while He Himself transcends the categories.[5]

1. See selections from these two texts cited in Mādhava, pp. 103-11.
2. Pandey, *Bhāskarī*, p. cxii.
3. *Pāśupata Sūtras*, 56 (Pandey, *Bhāskarī*, p. cxxi). Hereafter cited as *PS*.
4. *PS*, 5 (Pandey, *Bhāskarī*, p. cxxiv).
5. *PS*, 76 (Pandey, *Bhāskarī*, p.cxxi).

Second, Effect. The second category is similar to the Sāṅkhya concepts of Matter (*prakṛti*) and Spirit (*puruṣa*). Nothing evolves since everything exists eternally in the cause in a subtle form which the Lord manifests into a gross form according to His will.[1] It consists of three dependent categories such as Sentiency or Knowledge, the Sentient or Beast; and the Insentient or Aptitude. Let us take these three in turn.

(a) *Sentiency* is an attribute of the soul, rendering it capable of distinguishing itself from the Insentient. Sentiency is also the basis of the Monist Pastoralist theories of knowledge and ethics. Through perception, inference and verbal testimony—the three norms (*pramāṇas*) of knowledge in this system, the soul achieves the Four Goals of Life (*puruṣārthas*), morality or social behavior (*dharma*), wealth or work (*artha*), sex or delight (*kāma*), and liberation or beatitude (*mokṣa*).[2]

(b) *The Sentient, or Beast* comprises all bound souls. Their bondage or the lack of freedom is beginningless. Even when the evolutes of Matter are dissolved, these souls remain in bondage until the next creation takes place at the Lord's will.[3] Since their knowledge is limited, they are distinct from the Lord who possesses omniscience and omnipotence. Once liberated, however, they attain the powers of the Lord and become capable of His activity.

The reason for bondage of the soul is the presence of the five-fold Pollution (*mala*): false knowledge (*mithyājñāna*), demerit (*adharma*), attachment (*sakti*) and interestedness (*saktihetu*), lapse (*cyuti*) and beastliness (*paśutva*).[4]

(c) *The Insentient*: Unconscious by nature, the Insentient is analogous to the Matter (*pradhāna*) of the Sāṅkhya. The physical and the psychological categories evolve from it under the control of the sentient soul. These evolutes are: (1) the empirical effect from which evolve the five elements and their qualities, (2) the empirical means (*kāraṇa*) which gives rise to the five senses of perception (*pañcajñānendriya*), the five organs of action (*pañca-karmendriya*) and the three internal senses (*antaḥkaraṇa*).

1. *PS*, 60 (Pandey, *Bhāskarī*, p. cxxv).
2. *PS*, 88 (Pandey, *Bhāskarī*, p. cxxvi).
3. *PS*, 41-51 (Pandey, *Bhāskarī*, p. cxxxiii).
4. Pandey, *Bhāskarī*, p. cxxxiii.

Third, Union. The goal of Monist Pastoralism is not liberation but union with the Lord. Hence, while Patañjali restricts the term union (*yoga*) to mere isolation (*kaivalya*) of the soul, Lakulīśa divides it into five different stages. The first consists of ascetic practices which result in freedom from passion and the dawn of knowledge.[1] In the second, the result attained in the first stage is strengthened by means of certain ascetic practices. These two stages are called those of Union Qualified by Action (*kriyālakṣaṇa yoga*) because they arise from activity. The next three stages are called those of Union Qualified by Cessation of Action (*kriyoparamalakṣaṇa yoga*), since they are attained through mental concentration, or from cessation of activity. In the third stage, the aspirant withdraws his mind from all empirical objects and voluntarily moves it towards the Lord. In the fourth stage his mind is fixed on the Lord. In the fifth, the Lord's powers pass on to the soul.[2]

Fourth, Ritual Behavior. For spiritual insight a mere knowledge of the distinction between Matter and Sentiency is insufficient. Hence Lakulīśa emphasizes the importance of devotional rites for the control of our senses. These, divided as Principal and Subsidiary purification ablutions, result in spiritual insight.

Fifth, Cessation of Pain. The last primary category consists of two aspects: Impersonal (*anātmaka*) and Personal (*sātmaka*). The first is the total extirpation of pain; the second, the attainment of the powers of knowledge and action. At this stage the soul is called "accomplished" (*siddha*). Monist Pastoralism, which has much in common with other Indian philosophical systems such as the Sāṅkhya, Buddhism, and Vedānta, fundamentally differs from most of these systems because of its emphasis on the second aspect. Consequently, it upholds the individuality of the soul even after final union is achieved—a view shared by a few Vedāntic systems, as those of Rāmānuja and Nimbārka. Monist Pastoralism appears to have been a major source of inspiration for later Śaiva schools, the primary categories of the latter being modifications of the five primary categories discussed above. In the Siddhānta, some Tamilians, like Śivāgrayogin, seem to have a conception of liberation similar to that of Laku-

1. *PS*, 13 (Pandey, *Bhāskarī*, p. cxlii).
2. *PS*, 139, 146 (Pandey, *Bhāskarī*, p. cxliii).

līśa. But Sadyojyoti and Rāmakaṇṭha, two leading Śaiva dualists criticize such a theory that upholds a transference of qualities since, according to them, as for Aghoraśiva, the soul possesses these powers beginninglessly (*AP*, II. 5).

Skullmanism

The Skullmen Sect is one of the oldest Śaiva schools. In literature this school is mentioned together with the denominations known as the Dispensation of Śiva, the Great Vow Holder Sect, the Fierce Face Sect, the Fierce Mouth Sect and the Moon God Doctrine (*Somasiddhānta*). The followers of this school worshipped Śiva the terrifying god, who at times was called Kapāleśvara (the Lord of the Skull).[1]

The Skullmen, as Rāmānuja tells us, believed that an experiential awareness of the essence of the Six Marks (*mudrikā*) was the means to freedom from transmigration and attainment of supreme bliss.[2] The Six Marks are a necklace, an ornament, earrings, a crest jewel, ashes, and a sacred thread. The religious practices of the Skullmen included the wearing of the above Marks and taking the Great Vow (*mahā-vrata*) through which they were initiated into sainthood. Some eremitical Skullmen who were faithful to the Great Vow seem to have received the favor and protection of the kings,[3] while others who were wanderers were bitterly condemned by the spiritual leaders.

Kṛṣṇamiśra details some practices of the latter:

> We offer [says the Skullman in a play] great fire oblations of flesh filled with brains, intestines and fat, and we relish quaffing liquors especially prepared in skulls from Brahmin corpses. We worship the Great Terrifier god with sacrifices of human victims —sacrifices fearful and brilliant with the pure blood pouring from their firmly fleshed throats just slit.[4]

1. Pathak, pp. 19-23, 25.
2. Rāmānuja, *Bhagavad Bādarāyaṇa's Brahma Sūtra of Śārīraka with Śrī Bhāṣya and its Commentary Named Bhāṣyārtha Darpaṇa by Abhinava Deśika*, ed. Śri Uttamur I. Viraragavacharya, 2 pts. (Madras: Sreevathsa Press, 1963-64.) 2:2-35.
3. Pathak, p. 20.
4. Kṛṣṇamiśra, *Prabodhacandrodaya*, act. 3, v. 16. Quoted in Pereira, p. 347.

Tirumūlar, one of the Fathers of the Tamil Siddhānta, more philosophical than Skullmanism's other critics, requires that the Skullmen be excluded from Śaiva ceremonies such as the sacred meal (*śrāddha*):

> If these (Kāpālikas) and similar other *heretics*, wicked souls pervaded by the quality of *Tamas*, partake of the *havi*, the *Śrāddha* does not become successful, and it does not yield fruit in the next world.[1]

The Individual Sects : Developed Sects

Triadism or Trika

One of the most prominent and powerful branches of Śaivism is the Trika School. With its threefold composition—the Family (*Kula*) School, the Gradation (*Krama*) School, and the Vibration (*Spanda*) School—it is theologically the most impressive of the many Śaiva systems, originating in Kashmir in the early ninth century. Hence it is often referred to as Kashmir Śaivism. Principally because of the triadic structure of its thought, literature refers to it as Trika, which may be translated as Triadism.[2]

We must study briefly the historical development of the three above-mentioned schools in order to learn of the origins and chief exponents of Triadism.

(i) *The Family School*: The Family School is believed to have been founded toward the end of the fourth century, by a descendent of Tryambaka, the first legendary propagator of Śaivism. He was one of the three 'sons' of Śiva—the other two being Āmardaka (one of the reputed founders of the Siddhānta) and Śrīnātha.[3] The ultimate principle of the Family School was an

1. C. V. Nārāyana Iyer, *Origin and Early History of Śaivism in South India*, Madras University Historical Series, No. 6 (Madras: University of Madras, 1969), p. 215.

2. Paul E. Murphy, "Triadic Mysticism: The Mystical Theology of the Śaivism of Kashmir" (Ph.D. dissertation, Fordham University, 1978), p. 1.

3. According to a traditional story, the three mind-born sons of Śiva revived the teachings of the Āgamas. K. C. Pandey, *Abhinavagupta : An Historical and Philosophical Study*, 2nd ed., rev. and enl. The Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series, Vol. 1 (Varanasi: Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series Office, 1963), p. 135. Hereafter cited as Pandey, *Abhinavagupta*.

undifferentiated totality of the group or "family" of Categories emanant from itself, particularly of the two principles, masculine and feminine (Śiva the Energizer and His Energy). The earliest record on the Family is *The Trigesimal on the Supreme Goddess* (*Parātriṃśikā*), a Tantric work on which Somānanda (ca. 855) wrote the first commentary.[1] Other exponents of this school include Kallaṭa (ca. 850), and Abhinavagupta (ca. 950), Triadism's encyclopaedic master-mind.

(ii) *The Gradation School*: The Gradation School was founded by Śivānandanātha towards the end of the seventh and the beginning of the eighth century in Kashmir. This school receives its name because it holds that the Ultimate is realizable only through successive stages. The original works of the earlier teachers such as Śivānanda, Eraka, and Somarāja, have been lost. The extent of Gradation literature which appears to have been considerable, is known to us from references only.[2]

(iii) *Vibration School*: This School, also known as Self-Awareness (*Pratyabhijñā*), is theologically the most important Triadic school. Sometimes Śaiva theologians have referred to the entire system of *Trika* as *Pratyabhijñā*. In his *Memorial Verses on Vibration* (*Spanda Kārikā*), Vasugupta (ca. 825), the probable founder of this school, enunciated the fundamental principles of Śaivism as viewed from the Triadic viewpoint, and sought to organize the philosophical ideas of the monistic *Tantras*.

Somānanda (ca. 850), a contemporary of Kallaṭa, gave Triadism its first systematic form in his *Vision of Śiva* (*Śivadṛṣṭi*). His son, Utpala (end of the ninth and first half of the tenth century), wrote eleven known works. Of these, three are famous: (1) *The Memorial Verses on the Supreme Lord's Self-Awareness* (*Īśvarapratyabhijñā Kārikā*) which was the first work on the Self-Awareness School; (2) The Gloss on the above work (*Īśvarapratyabhijñā Vṛtti*); (3) The *Commentary* on the same work (*Īśvarapratyabhijñā Ṭīkā*). Kṣemarāja (11th century), the foremost among Abhinava's pupils, wrote on all three schools and on tantra, poetics, and Śaiva philosophy.[3]

Triadism's (and Śaivism's) greatest theologian was Abhinava-

1. Pandey, *Abhinavagupta*, pp. 488-89.
2. For the most important works, see Murphy, p. 14.
3. See eighteen of his works, in Pandey, *Abhinavagupta*, pp. 254-57.

gupta. Murphy, revising Pandey's scheme[1], divides Abhinava's literary activities into three Periods: 1. Initial or First Theological Period; 2. Intermediate or Poetic Period; and 3. Final or Second Theological Period.[2] Abhinava's masterpiece, the *Light on the Tantras* (*Tantrāloka*), belongs to the first period. It is a work of thirty-seven chapters which, with the commentary of Jayaratha, fills twelve volumes. It presents a detailed treatment of all Triadic schools, and forms the basis of a fourth school called the Integrated School. This school was established by Abhinava himself and was further developed by Kṣemarāja and by Maheśvarānanda (12th century), Aghoraśiva's contemporary and foremost Triadic theologian in the Coḷa empire.

Abhinava's three summaries of the *Light on the Tantras*, which also belong to the Initial Period, are the following: the *Essence of the Tantras* (*Tantrasāra*), the *Gathering of the Tantras* (*Tantroccaya*), and the *Seed of the Tantra Banyan* (*Tantravaṭadhānika*). In The Intermediary Period, there are only a few works: the *New Eloquence* (*Abhinava Bhāratī*), a commentary on Bharata's *Science of Dramatics* (*Nāṭya Śāstra*); The *Illumination of the Light of Suggestion* (*Dhvanyāloka Locana*), a commentary on Ānandavardhana's *Light of Suggestion* (*Dhvanyāloka*); and a non-extant work—the *Exposition of the Wonder of Poetry* (*Kāvyakautuka Vivaraṇa*). In the Final Period, there are three principal works: the *Compendium on the Gītā* (*Bhagavadgītāsaṅgraha*), the *Short Examination* (*Laghuvivṛti*), and the Great Examination (*Ṭīkā*) which is not extant. The last two works are commentaries on Utpala's *Memorial Verses*.[3]

Triadic theology has a tripartite structure: The Supreme-Emanation-Reabsorption. The Supreme Śiva is Undifferentiated Reality or Unity. From Him are the Cosmic Manifestations, or the multiplicity of beings emanant from the Unity. Multiplicity is finally reabsorbed into the Unity. The Siddhānta's Triad of Categories (*tattvatrayam*), Master, Beast and Bond, is reduced to a Dyad: Inconceptualized (Undifferentiated)—

1. Pandey classifies Abhinava's works under three chronological headings: Tantric (*tāntrika*) Period, Poetic (*ālaṅkārika*) Period, and Philosophical Period. Pandey, *Abhinavagupta*, pp. 41-43.

2. Murphy, pp. 21-25.

3. Forty-four works are attributed to Abhinava. See the most important ones listed in Murphy, pp. 22-24.

Śiva beyond concepts; and Conceptualized (Differentiated)—Śiva within concepts. The latter comprises the thirty-six categories of Triadism.[1] The Dyad emphasizes the basic problem of theology, the relationship between the transcendent and the phenomenal. In Triadic theology, the transcendent and the phenomenal are necessarily linked, since there cannot be one without the other. As we suggested in the Introduction, the insights of Triadism are developed with the maximum of individuality and distinctiveness on the metaphysical model of Difference-in-Identity.

Śrīkaṇṭha's Qualified Monism

Śrīkaṇṭha (11th century) represents an important stage in the development of Śaiva thought. His main goal was to bridge the gulf between the Vedas and the Āgamas. Like Yāmuna in relation to the scriptures of Vaiṣṇavism, Śrīkaṇṭha taught that those of Śaivism, like the Vedas, proceed from one ultimate source (for Śrīkaṇṭha, the Supreme Śiva or *paraśiva*). The difference, as he saw it, was that the Vedas are only for the three higher castes whereas the Āgamas are for all. With textual support from both Scriptures he interpreted the Śaiva teachings as he understood them, embodying his conclusions in his monumental work, the *Śrīkaṇṭhabhāṣya*, teachings which came to be known as Qualified Monism.[2]

Śrīkaṇṭha seems to have accepted the basic philosophical concepts of the Siddhānta and others of Triadism. Thus, he admitted 1. the Triad of Categories, Master, Beast and Bond; 2. the thirty-six categories of Triadism; 3. the three impurities: Pollution, Karma and the Mirific Power or *māyā*; 4. liberation as the attainment of similarity with Śiva (*śivasāmyavāda*); 5. the

1. For the names of the thirty-six categories or the Cosmic manifestations, see Pereira, pp. 496-97.

2. The following studies have been used: Appaya Dīkṣita, *Śivārkamaṇidīpikā: The Brahma Sūtra Bhāṣya of Śrīkaṇṭhācārya with the commentary Śivārkamaṇi Dīpikā by Appaya Dīkṣita*, ed. Pandit R. Halasyanātha Sāstri, 2 vols. (Bombay: Nirnaya-sagar Press, 1908). Suryanārāyana Śāstri, *Śivādvaita of Śrīkaṇṭha*, Madras University Philosophical Series, No. 2 (Madras: University of Madras, 1972). (Hereafter cited as S. Śāstri, *Śrīkaṇṭha*.) Sūryanārāyana Śāstri, *Śivādvaita Nirṇaya of Appaya Dīkṣita*, Madras University Philosophical Series, No. 22 (Madras: University of Madras, 1974).

Beast as possessing the powers of knowledge and action beginninglessly, but inactive due to the presence of Pollution; 6. the Supreme Śiva as beyond the thirty-six categories and inherently united with His Energy (*śakti*), His essential quality.

The Vedas, Śrīkaṇṭha claims, speak of the Ultimate Reality and the world as identical. But, he continues, this does not mean that there is Difference-in-Identity (as traditionally understood) in the one reality. For it to be so, there should be *equal* value in both Identity and Difference. Instead, Śrīkaṇṭha says that the one (Difference) is subordinate to the other (Identity). Using the analogies of body and soul, or substance and quality, he shows that the world is neither completely identical with Śiva (so as to be an illusion), nor completely different and independent (as a jar and a piece of cloth). They both differ in inherent qualities, and hence are different; yet they are both inherently related (in the sense that one cannot exist without the other), and hence are identical.[1]

Śrīkaṇṭha discusses the mode of existence between Śiva and the world in the way the earlier Monist Pastoralist school did. He says that the empirical multiplicity has its being potentially in the Energy or power (*śakti*) of the Brahman. When this potentiality assumes its gross form, it exists as the Brahman's attribute. The Difference texts of Revelation refer to the freedom of the Lord and to its lack in the souls and the inconscient objects; and the Identity texts of Revelation indicate that the empirical multiplicity has no being without Śiva.[2]

Śrīkaṇṭha's Qualified Monism does not seem to be fundamentally different from that of other monistic Śaiva theologians such as Śrīkumāra, and his analogies are similar to those of the Monist Pastoralists. But his doctrine that Śiva is the material as well as the efficient cause through the possession of Energy seems to set him apart from the other monist Śaivas, for he holds that Śiva evolves, not in Himself, but in His Energy. But if Śiva's Energy is inherent to the immutable Himself, how can it evolve? The answer to this question lies, for Śrīkaṇṭha, in the proper understanding of Identity and Difference. Some kind of Difference seems to underlie both concepts (hence absolute unity appears

1. S. Śāstri, *Śrīkaṇṭha*, pp. 132-33.
2. *Śrīkaṇṭhabhāṣya*, II, 32-34 (See Pandey, *Bhāskarī*, p. clii).

impossible). There is no Identity unless there is something identified (Energy) and something with which it is identified (Śiva). Similarly, there is no Difference unless there is something which differs and that from which it differs: else there would be absolute unity. Śiva and Energy are not an absolute unity, but inseparably co-existent; hence change in the inhering Energy does not affect Śiva in whom she inheres. What changes is the attribute of Śiva, Who operates merely through His will.

Śrīkaṇṭha includes the sentient and the insentient beings in the one Śiva, but without implying that the souls are identical with Him. Unlike other monists, Śrīkaṇṭha holds that the soul is infinitesimal and not omnipresent or pervasive. Śiva is the pervader, the soul the pervaded. The souls act on the Lord's command, and when liberated, become similar to Him. Liberation as similarity with Śiva is proved by the Upaniṣadic pronouncement that the "one who knows the Brahman becomes the Brahman"—interpreted to mean that the souls become like (*iva*), and have the same experience as the Brahman, without however performing the same actions.[1]

Hero or Vīraśaivism

The tenets of Vīraśaivism were propagated by five teachers who lived between the twelfth and the fourteenth centuries. The names of the teachers are Reṇuka, Dāruka, Ekorāma, Paṇḍitārādhya and Viśvārādhya.[2] The historical founder of the system is Basava (1131-67). His nephew, Cenna Basava, seems to have furnished Vīraśaivism with a theology which was subsequently adopted by thinkers such as Śrīpati Paṇḍita (fourteenth century).[3] Basava and his immediate followers used the Kannaḍa

1. S. Śāstri, *Śrīkaṇṭha*, p. 178.

2. The following are some of the significant Vīraśaiva literature: Śrīpati Paṇḍita, *Commentary on the Vedāntasūtra of Bādarāyaṇa (Śrīkarabhāṣya)*; Vṛsabhendra, *Śaivabhāṣya* on the *Mahā Nārāyaṇa Upaniṣad*; Revaṇārya or Revaṇa Siddha (?), *Commentary on Bhoga Malleśa's Siddhānta Śikhāmaṇi*; Revaṇārya's other works: *Pañcaratna Vyākhyā or Tantrasāraprakāśikā*—a commentary on Sosali Viraṇārādhya's *Tantrasārapañcaratna*; Sosali Viraṇārādhya, *Tarkapañcaratna*; Ekorāma, *Commentary on the Vedānta Sūtra*.

3. For an analysis of the above Vīraśaiva literature, see Surendranath Dasgupta, *A History of Indian Philosophy*, vol. 5: *Southern Schools of Śaivism*. (Cambridge: University of Cambridge, 1962), pp. 42-64, 173-90.

language instead of Sanskrit, and their compositions were known as Sayings (*Vacana*). It confronted the Vedic tradition chiefly through the efforts of Śivayogī (of uncertain date), subsequent to Basava. The most important phase, which is the Vedāntic phase, was highlighted by Śrīpati, the most influential name in the history of Vīraśaiva literature. The theological structure of Vīraśaivism was elaborated by the fifteenth century theologian, Māyideva.[1]

By Basava's time, Śaivism had compromised with Vedic castes and states. Basava therefore sought to restore Śaivism to its pristine Āgama purity. Then, Cenna Basava, in creating a theology, chose for its ultimate category the All Void of the Buddhist Vacuists (or Mādhyamikas), a concept abhorred by many Hindu theologians. In its Vedāntic phase, Śrīpati's basic insight was that the Vedas were reconcilable with the twenty-eight Āgamas (recognized by the Siddhānta). He taught that the Veda is of equal authority with the Āgama through the usual process—a commentary on Bādarāyaṇa's Aphorisms (*Brahma-sūtrabhāṣyam*).[2] He called his teaching Qualification Nondualism (*viśeṣādvaita*) to distinguish it from the Unqualified Nondualism (*nirviśeṣādvaita*) of Gauḍapāda and Śaṅkara, and the Qualified Monism (*viśiṣṭādvaita*) of Rāmānuja and Śrīkaṇṭha.

Śrīpati comments on the terms "qualification" (*viśeṣa*) and "nondualism" (*advaita*), and excludes pure Monism and pure Dualism as contrary to experience, for we experience duality in the states of wakefulness and sleep, but nonduality in deep sleep. He holds both experiences to be equally real. In relation to Śiva and the individual soul there is identity insofar as both are sentient; but there is difference between the two because the atomic soul is limited in its powers of knowledge and action, whereas the all-pervasive Śiva is omnipotent and omniscient. When the soul is liberated, the difference disappears since the soul merges with Śiva. In relation to the objective world, all multiplicity springs from Śiva at His will. Nothing is outside Him. In the causal state, everything is one (as the seed is one), but in the state of effect (as the seed grows into leaves, branches,

1. Māyideva, *Anubhavasūtra*, in Vīraśaiva Lingibrahmana Granthamala 39 (Sholapur, 1909) in Telugu script.

2. Śrīpati, *Śrīkarabhāṣyam* on 3:2:5 See selection in Pereira, pp. 396-98.

flowers and fruits) there is difference and multiplicity. From the point of view of Śiva, everything is one, but on the empirical level there is multiplicity. Even the individual is different from Śiva at the empirical level, but is one with Him when he merges into Śiva at liberation. Just as a river, different from the ocean when it flows through the plain, becomes one with it, so all multiplicity becomes merged in Śiva. Hence Śrīpati asserts that Difference-in-Identity is the only sound philosophy.

Vīraśaivism is also called Energy-Qualified Non-dualism (*śaktiviśiṣṭādvaita*) because within self-consciousness this system does not recognize a distinction between matter and form. Since Energy is the very soul of Śiva, knowledge is taken to be inherent in Him. There is no antinomy between Śiva and Energy. Here the Vīraśaivas follow the doctrine of Śrīkaṇṭha.

The realism of Śrīpati's theology can be seen because of his acceptance of the thirty-six categories and the three primary categories of Master, Beast and Bond. He strengthens his realism by opposing the theory of illusion in Śaṅkara. He asserts that multiplicity is real and eternal, since it exists potentially in Śiva. Unity and multiplicity are two states of the same reality. Unity is the unevolved state, multiplicity, the evolved. Unity is not pure unity, but that of Śiva, the efficient cause, and Energy, the material cause. The relation between them is one of identity, like fire and its power to burn.

The Siddhānta : An Outline of History

The most widespread and popular sect appears to be Śaiva Siddhānta. Although it belongs to the more developed and the later Śaiva group, what distinguishes it from all other sects is that Śaiva Siddhānta is the first of the developed and later sects, and is more moderate in comparison with the beliefs and ritualistic practices of the early group. Its recognition of the earlier authorities such as Śrīkaṇṭha—the alleged founder of Dualist Pastoralism—and its acceptance of Guhāvāsī (ca. 675), one of the twenty-eight incarnations of Śiva, as its founder, indicate Siddhānta's traditionally held antiquity in relation to the later sects.[1]

1. See inscriptional evidence in *EI*, XXV, p. 175.

Philosophically, the Siddhānta incorporates some of the fundamental concepts—mainly the Categories—of almost all other Śaiva sects. Some Siddhānta teachers (like Rāmakaṇṭha I) who came from Kashmir, and those who later institutionalized Siddhānta in Central India, were learned in the *Vedas*, the *Upaniṣads*, the *Śaiva Āgamas* and the teachings of the Śaiva philosophical systems, including Triadism. It is with the Siddhānta that our subsequent narrative will deal: we shall begin with its institutionalization.

The Institutionalization of the Siddhānta

According to tradition, Siddhānta's first prophet appears to have been Kadambaguhādhivāsī (The Dweller in the Kadamba Cave), sometimes said to be of Dāruvana, and usually known as Guhāvāsī. He was an "accomplished one" or *siddha*, and reputed to be an incarnation of Śiva (as was Lakulīśa, prophet of the earlier Śaiva sect of Monist Pastoralism).

Guhāvāsī was succeeded by an ascetic known as Śaṅkhamaṭhādhipati (Superintendent of the Śaṅkha Monastery), which shows that there was already some sort of monastery for the Siddhānta ascetics. Guhāvāsī's successor was followed by Terambipāla (The protector of the Village of Terambi), himself succeeded by Rudraśambhu, known as Āmardaka, or Āmardakatīrthanātha (Lord of the Shining of Āmardaka).[1]

Home of the Institutionalized Siddhānta

We know very little, if anything, of the monastic organization of the Siddhānta before Āmardaka's time, and it is usually believed that it was the Nondualist Śaṅkara who first organized Hindu monasticism. From Āmardaka's time (ca. 775) the Siddhānta acquired the three monastic orders which were instrumental in its diffusion. According to Siddhānta practice they were called after their birthplaces. These areas, respectively, were Āmardaka (the Shrine of Śiva the Crusher), a place identified with one of Śaivism's holiest cities, Ujjayinī or Ujjayin; Māttamayūra (the City of the Impassioned Peacock), the capital of the Cā-

1. For the inscriptional and textual references which support these traditional accounts, See Pathak, pp. 28-30.

lukya dynasty, near the Punjab; and Mādhumateya (the Honeyed City), probably identical with the modern village Mahua, a mile south of Terahi.

The Āmardaka order was founded, as we said, by Rudraśambhu, sometimes identified with, sometimes distinguished from, the sage Durvāsā, whose place in the apostolic (or better still, magisterial) succession to Guhāvāsī is ambiguous. From the ascetics of this order were drawn the royal preceptors of the Kākatīya kings of Āndhra. The Māttamayūra order was founded by Purandara, the successor of Rudraśambhu, and produced the royal preceptors of the Varmās of the Punjab, and the Pratihāras and Paramāras of Central India, the latter being the dynasty of Bhoja, the Siddhānta's principal systematic theologian. The Mādhumateya order, connected somehow to Durvāsā, was founded by a Pavanaśiva, whom we have been unable to place in any of the genealogies. This order produced the royal preceptors of the Kalacuris, of Central India, among others.

The Siddhānta ascetics, full of missionary zeal, used the influence of their royal patrons, the most noteworthy being the Cālukya Avanivarman (ninth century), to propagate their teachings in the neighboring kingdoms, particularly in South India. From the oldest capital of the Cālukyas, Māttamayūra, they established monasteries in Maharashtra, the Koṅkan, Karṇāṭaka, Āndhra and Kerala. Often they named these new foundations after their motherhouse—Māttamayūra—or, after the name of the locality, as in the case of Madhumatī. The Siddhānta flourished in the areas where it spread, until it was devastated by the Muslim invasions or supplanted by other forms of Hinduism—surviving chiefly in the Tamil country, and, in consequence, coming to be identified with its Tamil form.

Causes of the Siddhānta's Success

The success of the Siddhānta was due at least to three factors: political influence, personal sanctity, and theological learning; without them the Siddhānta would have either remained a minor religious sect or receded into oblivion.

First, *political influence.* Some of the best Siddhāntins became royal preceptors, not seldom to monarchs with enormous military power, such as the Kākatīya Gaṇapati (1198-1261). Their standing at court gave them influence over kings of other faiths,

who, in turn, helped them to continue their missionary activity.

Second, *personal sanctity*. The Siddhānta monasteries, in addition to being centers of spirituality, became social and charitable institutions which took care of the hungry, the sick, and the homeless.

Third, *theological learning*. The Siddhāntins were learned in both orthodox and heterodox systems, and consequently, their monasteries became centers of ecumenical activity. We shall now discuss these three factors in some detail, beginning with the first factor, the political influence of the Siddhāntins at the Kalacuri, Cālukya, Kākatīya, Paramāra and Coḷa courts.

The Kalacuri dynasty (also known as Haihaya), often referred to as the kings of Ḍāhala-mandala (or the Cedi country),[1] had their capital in Tripuri, now a village known as Tewar, six miles west of Jubbulpore, in Madhya Pradesh.[2] Durvāsā founded a monastery here called Golakī. Its high priest, at the time of Yuvarāja I who ruled in the second quarter of the tenth century, was Sadbhāvaśambhu, known sometimes as Prabhāvaśiva. Prabhāvaśiva came to Yuvarāja's kingdom from Māttamayūra; his royal patron gave him a monastery built at a great cost and richly endowed, along with a large number of villages for its maintenance.[3]

Yuvarāja's successors continued to patronize the Śaiva teachers. His son, Lakṣmaṇarāja (ca. 950), gave the monastery of the holy Vidyānātha, situated near Bilhāri, to Aghoraśiva's teacher, Hṛdayaśiva, a member of the Māttamayūra (and/or Mādhumateya) order. He had two sons, Śaṅkaragaṇa and Yuvarāja II. Śaṅkaragaṇa ascended the throne for a brief period, and was succeeded by Yuvarāja II, who ruled in the last quarter of the tenth century. This king must have been a very

1. See Appendix 1 for the genealogies of the above-mentioned dynasties.

2. R. C. Majumdar et al., eds., *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 4 (Bombay: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1964), p. 87. The historical data of the kings is based mainly on this work.

3. Other monasteries built by Yuvarāja I and his wife, queen Nohalā, were at Gurgi, twelve miles east of Rewa town, Baghelkhand, and at Bilhāri, in the district of Jubbulpore. At Chandrehe, twelve miles south of Rewa, there are remains of a temple of Śiva and a monastery. This, according to Majumdar, may have been the monastery over which Prabhāvaśiva had been placed in charge. Majumdar, 4:90.

generous patron, for it is during his rule that the activities of the Siddhāntins reached their peak.[1]

Another Kalacuri king, Sāhasika,[2] is said to have dedicated his whole kingdom to his preceptor, the ascetic Vāmadeva (probably Vāmaśambhu), before he set out to conquer other lands. Vāmadeva, the second in succession to Sadbhāvaśambhu, is described as one "whose feet were embellished by the crowns of kings."[3]

The Cālukya kings who ruled over some parts of Central India (including the homeland of the Siddhānta church) are well known for their patronage of the Śaiva faith. They divided their kingdom into three branches. The capital of the oldest branch was Māttamayūra. King Avanivarman who gave his daughter Nohalā in marriage to Yuvarāja I, was one of the sincerest patrons of the Śaiva ascetics.[4] According to epigraphic evidence, when he desired to embrace the Śaiva faith, he went to Upendrapura (near Ujjain?) where the holy sage Purandara lived.[5] Installed in a monastery in Māttamayūra by the king, the sage came to be known as Māttamayūranātha, the Lord of Māttamayūra. Receiving Initiation from Purandara, the king helped to establish another monastery at Raṇipadra (or Ranod), also in Central India.[6]

The Kākatīyas, sometimes referred to as the kings of Āndhra

1. *Ibid.* The Bilhāri inscription set up in the monastery of Nohaleśvara by Aghoraśiva traces the genealogy of the Kalacuri kings from Atri down to Yuvarāja II. It also contains the names of Śaiva ascetics who were honored or who received gifts from different kings. Ray, p. 770.

2. We do not find Sāhasika's name in the Kalacuri genealogy. As D. C. Sircar suggests, Sāhasika is probably the same as Gaṅgeyadeva who assumed the title Vikramāditya. For more information see Pranabananda Jash, *History of Śaivism* (Calcutta: Roy and Chaudhury, 1974), p. 31.

3. *JAHRS*, 4:157.

4. Majumdar, 4:104.

5. The identification of this place is uncertain. R. D. Banerjee (*MASI*, 33) draws our attention to a place of the same name which was the headquarters of a *mandala* in a grant of Naravarman dated 1110. This grant mentions Kadambapadraka as situated in the *Pratijagaranaka* of Mandaraka in the *Mandala* of Upendrapura. Mandaraka may be identical with Mundaira, near Ujjain. The village Kamlikheda which lies only a mile to the east may be Kadambapadraka, identical with Kadambaguha, the traditional home of the Siddhānta ascetics. Jash, p. 30.

6. Jash, pp. 18-19.

and Teliṅga country, ruled the Koravī country which included at least a part of the Nalgonda district of Āndhra State.[1] At least three of them helped to propagate Śaivism. Rudra, who came to the throne some time before 1158, built temples to Śiva in his cities of Anmakonda, Pillamari, Mantrakuta and Orungallu (modern Warangal). He was succeeded by his younger brother, Mahādeva (1195) who came under the influence of the Śaiva teacher Dhruveśvara. Though invested with kingly power, he cared very little for it and "became one completely engrossed in the worship of Śiva."[2] His son, Gaṇapati, ascended the throne in 1198, and extended his rule to the Godavari district in the north, including the eastern and western banks of the Godāvarī River. The Koṭas of Amarāvatī, the Telugu-Choḍas of Guntur, the Nāṭavāḍi chiefs of the Krishna district and many other chiefs acknowledged his supremacy. To the south, he conquered Nullurapurai (Nellore), and generally all the territories up to Kāñcipuram and Chingleput in Tamil Nāḍu.[3] Thus his kingdom encompassed most of the present-day Āndhra State.

Gaṇapati's spiritual teacher was Viśveśvaraśambhu. Aided by the king, he founded many Śaiva institutions including the famous Viśveśvara Golakī monastery.[4]

The Paramāra period which appears to have started around the ninth century is when Śaivism achieved a rapid growth. The earliest royal patron of the Śaiva ascetics, recorded in Hṛdayaśiva's *Collection of Penances* (*Prāyaścitta Samuccaya*), was Sīyaka II (949). His spiritual preceptor was Lambakaraṇa of the Māttamayūra order.[5] Then came Vākpati II (972) who was an ardent devotee of Śiva and a patron of art and literature. He built temples at Ujjain, Maheśvara, Oṁkāra, Māndhātā and Dharmapurī.[6] He was followed by Sindurāja (995), who followed the tradition of his predecessors in regard to the Śaiva ascetics.

Among the Paramāras who patronized the Śaivas, the out-

1. Majumdar, 5:198.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 200.
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 200-201.
4. For records of grants made to various Śaiva ascetics of these Śaiva institutions, see Jash, pp. 21-22.
5. K. C. Jain, *Malawa Through the Ages* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1972), pp. 340-41, 407.
6. *Ibid.*, pp. 340-41.

standing rulers were Bhoja (1018-60), the author of the Śaiva treatise, *The Illumination of the Categories*,[1] and Udayāditya (1070-86) whose reign is sometimes regarded as "a golden age in the history of Śaivism in Malwa."[2] Bhoja is said to have "made the world (*Jagatī*) worthy of its name by covering it all around with temples....."[3] Udayāditya built the famous temple, Nīlakaṇṭheśvara. Among his donations was the grant of a village to the temple of Somanātha.[4] The other Paramāras, who were adherents or patrons of Śaivism, were Jayasiṃha (1116) and Naravarmadeva (1094-1133) who made Ujjain a stronghold of Śaivism in spite of Jainism, then flourishing in western India.[5]

Finally, the Coḷa kings were no less generous than the four dynasties discussed above, in their patronage of Śaivas. Rājarāja I (985-1014) whose kingdom included the South Indian regions of Trivandrum and Majura extended his rule as far as the northern part of Śrī Laṅkā where he built a substantial stone temple, the Śiva *devāle*. In 1010 he built the monumental Rajeśvara temple at Tanjore and gave the revenue of many villages, scattered throughout the empire, for its maintenance.[6] His devotion to Śiva was so great that he assumed the title The Worshipper of Śiva (*Śivapādaśekhara*).

Rājarāja's successor, Rājendra I (1012-44) who was successful in many of his expeditions, completely conquered Śrī Laṅkā, eastern India and western Bengal. His interest and patronage is recorded in Trilocanaśiva's *Siddhānta Sārāvalī* as follows:

> Rajendra Coḷa saw the best of Śaivas in Northern India when he came to take a bath in the Gaṅgā and carried them to settle in his own country in Kāñchi and elsewhere in Coḷa land.[7]

It is probable that Īśānaśiva and Sarvaśiva who were the preceptors of Rājendra were among the Śaiva ascetics referred to as "the best of Śaivas" by Trilocanaśiva.[8]

1. See *infra*, Chapters II and IV.
2. Jain, p. 408.
3. *EI*, 1:236-37.
4. *EI*, 23:131.
5. Jain, p. 409.
6. Majumdar, 5:443.
7. Quoted in Pathak, p. 38.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 36.

Another king, Vikrama Coḷa (1118-35) made donations to the Naṭarāja temple at Cidambaram which "had been favored by the Coḷa emperors."[1] Similar benefactions were made by Kulottuṅga II (1133-50), whose reign was marked by his interest in literature. He patronized the three Tamil literary giants—Ottakkūttan, Śekkiḷar and Kamban—all contemporaries of Aghoraśiva.[2]

The second factor, personal sanctity, is attested to by several epigraphic records. The Gurgi Inscriptions speak of the Siddhāntins as "great performers of austerities, devoted to the observance of vows, and teaching the liberal doctrine of Śiva, which was devoid of all faults to disciples."[3] Prabodhaśiva, faithful to his vows, is described as "always avoiding the company of women" and realizing "God by the performance of religious austerities and meditation, and living on the fruits of Piyala, āmalaka, and śāluka," and "who caused to wonder of the world [*sic* !] by practicing austerities even in his boyhood on the bank washed by the river (*Śoṇa*) imitating his spiritual preceptor (Praśāntaśiva)."[4] As the above names suggest, most of these saintly men belonged to or lived in Western and Central India. The *Bṛhat-Gautamīya Tantra* confirms this conclusion with its evaluation that "those coming from the west are the best, those from the south are middling, those from Gauḍa (Bengal) and Kāmarūpa (Assam) are inferior to the preceding, and those from Kaliṅga (Orissa) are the worst."[5] Hence it is not surprising that when the emperors of the South conquered more northern Indian regions, they benefited not only from the conquered peoples' material wealth, but also from their scholars and saints.

Turning, finally, to our third factor, theological learning, it is clear that the Siddhāntins were erudite and fecund teachers and writers, as we shall see in our next chapter. Much of their literature has perished, as we gather from surviving Siddhānta works. The inscriptions also mention writers of lost works, such as those of the three Māttamayūra ascetics, Hṛdayaśiva, of the Gorathikā monastery of Dhārā (Bhoja's capital), Brahma-

1. Majumdar, 5:245.
2. *Ibid.*
3. *EI*, 22:127.
4. *EI*, 21:148ff.
5. Majumdar, 4:322-23.

śambhu of the Karkaroṇi monastery, author of *The Investigation into Optional Activities* (*Naimittikakriyānusandhāna*) and Vyomaśiva of Ranod, author of *The Celestial Treatise* (*Vyomavatī*), a commentary on Praśastapāda's *Commentary on the Atomist Aphorisms of Kaṇāda* (*Vaiśeṣikasūtrabhāṣyam*).[1] There are also the works of the disciples of Īśānaśiva, identified with a royal preceptor of that name of the emperor Rājendra Coḷa. They are Vairocana, author of *The Mirror of Consecration* (*Pratiṣṭhādarpaṇa*) and Somaśambhu, author of *The Manual of Somaśambhu* (*Somaśambhupaddhati*).[2] The latter work, composed in 1095, has been published; however, there is another *Somaśambhupaddhati* which the Malkāpuram inscription describes as "the bridge over the ocean of all the Āgamas" which has been lost.[3]

Diffusion of the Siddhānta

Diffusion of the Siddhānta and the Suborders

The three Siddhānta orders, Āmardaka, Māttamayūra and Mādhumateya, expanded their monastic foundations in many parts of India. In general, the areas of their diffusion seem to be predominantly in the following regions or dioceses. The Āmardaka, in Rajasthan and Maharashtra, particularly, in Karhāṭa (or Karhad); the Māttamayūra, in Mālava (or modern Malwa) and its environs such as Upendrapura, Māttamayūrapura, Kadambaguhā (Kadwāha), Terambī (Terahī), Āmardakatīrtha (Ujjain), Ranod, Siyadoni, Bilhari, Surwaya, Chanderi and Kuṇḍalapura[4]; the Mādhumateya, in the Cedi country, on the banks of river Sona.

The diffusion of the three orders resulted in the birth of suborders which were often named after the different localities in which they flourished. Hence, the Āmardaka had at least three suborders: 1. the Sopārīya, in Sopara, whose prominent teachers were Oṁkāraśiva, Rūpaśiva and Śrīkaṇṭha[5]; 2. the Karañjakheta, founded in Karahāṭa area. Its center, the Valkaleśvara monastery, was a seat of learning where Gaganaśiva, a "great

1. *IHQ*, 10:165, (cited in Jash, p. 24.)
2. *JAHRS*, 4:159, (cited in Jash, p. 24.)
3. Pathak, pp. 39-40.
4. Jain, p. 412.
5. *EI*, 3:263-67.

1140
डा. डिल्ली रमण रेग्मी
कल्याणी रेग्मी स्मारक
पुस्तकालय

ascetic versed in the whole of Śaiva Siddhānta," was the preceptor to the Alupa king Dattalapendra Śrīmāra.[1] 3. The Golakī, founded by Prabhāvaśiva (Sadbhāvaśambhu), between the Gaṅgā and Narmadā rivers. It spread to the Tamil and Telugu regions. One of its monasteries was the Viśveśvara Golakī which appears to have been well known for its philanthropic activities.[2]

The Māttamayūra order had three suborders: 1. the Mālavā branch, which produced the royal preceptors to the courts of the Kalacuri and Paramāra dynasties; 2. the Deccan branch, which was known for its monastery at Karkaroṇi. Two outstanding ascetics of this monastery were Brahmaśambhu, the author of *The Investigation into Optional Activities*[3] and Ambhojaśambhu to whom the Kharepaṭan plate of Raṭṭarāja refers in glowing words:

> The noble teacher Ambhojaśambhu, affiliated to the august Māttamayūra lineage, descended in magisterial succession from the illustrious Karkaroṇi branch, who dispelled the black darkness of infatuation with the sun of Siddhānta truth, destroyed all attachment through the greatness of his penance, illumined the path to heaven and final beatitude by the lamp of enlightenment, and through the triumph of his concentration acquired reason in the three worlds.[4]

3. The Kadwahā suborder in which the Raṇipadra monastery was famous. The kings of the Chanderi Pratihāra dynasty were probably the protectors of this branch, as we find that two members of this branch, namely, Dharmaśiva and Īśvaraśiva, were spiritual preceptors of Harirāja Pratihāra (ca. tenth century) and Bhīma Bhūpa, respectively.[5]

Thus, we find that the ascetics of the Māttamayūra order spread from the Punjab to Deccan, wielding considerable influence over the kings of Kalacuri, Paramāra and Pratihāra dynasties, mainly in Central India.

1. *EI*, 4:286.
2. Pathak, pp. 31-32.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 34.
4. Sanskrit quotation from the above inscription is in Pathak, p. 35.
5. Pathak, p. 35.

The Mādhumateya order sent its members to places like Gurgi, Chandrehe and Bilhari. It appears that this order subsequently merged with the suborders of the Māttamayūra and Āmardaka, since we come across names of famous ascetics which are common to both orders. For instance, Hṛdayaśiva, whose name appears in the Māttamayūra genealogy, is said to have "still further increased the renown spread over the illustrious Mādhumateya lineage."[1] Furthermore, it seems that the Golakī monastery, mentioned earlier as a branch of the Āmardaka order, was a center of learning common to both orders. For Sadbhāvaśambhu, the founder of the Golakī monastery of the Āmardaka order, is identical with Prabhāvaśiva who was a disciple of Cūḍaśiva of the Mādhumateya order.[2]

Genealogies of the Siddhānta Orders

Āmardaka. The Malkāpuram stone inscription[3] shows that the Kākatīya king Gaṇapati (1199-1260) of the Āndhra country claimed, as his spiritual preceptor, one Viśveśvaraśambhu. As we have shown, Viśveśvaraśambhu belonged to the Āmardaka order. His genealogy, which probably is identical with that of the Āmardaka, is as follows: Durvāsā, Sadbhāvaśambhu, Somaśambhu, Vāmaśambhu, Śaktiśambhu, Kīrtiśambhu, Vimalaśiva, Dharmaśambhu, and Viśveśvaraśambhu.

Māttamayūra. No personal names of the early teachers of this order are known. They are, however, called after the names of the places in which the monasteries were established. Thus the names of the first three teachers were: Kadambaguhāvāsī, Śaṅkhamaṭhādhipati and Terambipāla.[4] The fourth is Rudraśiva, the same as Āmardakatīrthanātha. The fifth, Purandara, sometimes referred to as Māttamayūranātha. Next came Kavacaśiva, who may be the same as Dharmaśiva. He was followed by Sadāśiva and Hṛdayaśiva. The last name varies between Pataṅgaśambhu and Vyomaśiva.[5]

1. Bilhari stone inscription, vv. 48-57, as given in *EI*, 1:267-68.
2. *EI*, 22-133.
3. *JAHRS*, 4:157.
4. Jain, p. 412.
5. Jain lists Pataṅgaśiva, while Jash gives Vyomaśiva's name which appears in V. V. Mirashi's list given in *IHQ*, 20. See Jain, p. 414; Jash, pp. 18-19.

Mādhumateya. The stone inscription of Gurgi mentions the following genealogy of the Śaiva teachers who came to settle down in the Cedi country. Presumably it is the list of the Mādhumateya order[1]; Cūḍaśiva, Prabhāvaśiva, Praśāntaśiva, Īśānaśiva and Prabodhaśiva.

Viśveśvaraśambhu is the last nationally known Siddhāntin whose name we have been able to find in any inscription. After the twelfth century, the Siddhānta seems to have been losing popularity over most of India, giving way to more syncretic forms of Hinduism. The Siddhāntins also seem to have lost their posts as Royal Preceptors with the downfall of the dynasties that patronized them, as did the Kalacuris in the early thirteenth century. What remained of the Siddhānta was apparently annihilated by the ever-increasing Muslim incursions into Central India from the more northern regions of the country already under Muslim dominion. The Hindu will to resist the Islamic invaders, never very firm, was demoralized by Pṛthvīrāja III's defeat at Tarain in 1192. Mālwā, the Siddhānta's homeland, was raided by the Mamluk Delhi Sultān Iltutmish in 1234-35, by his successor Balban in 1250, and by the Khaljī Sultān Jalāluddīn in 1292. The Muslims finally triumphed in 1305, when Alāuddīn Khaljī overran Mālwā, destroying, among other places, the sacred city of Ujjayinī and Bhoja's capital Dhārā. The Siddhānta had to take refuge in the Tamil country to survive.

1. Jash identifies Cūḍaśiva with Śikhāśiva (also known as Mādhumatipati), in the Chandrehe inscription; see Jash, p. 20.

Chapter II

ŚAIVA SIDDHĀNTA LITERATURE

Introduction

Primacy of Śaiva Siddhānta

The scriptural sources of the Siddhānta comprise items of unequal importance, and can be put into three categories: Vedas, Śaiva Āgamas and mystical writings. Of these, the most characteristic are the Śaiva Āgamas,[1] for it is through them that all other revelations, including the Vedic, are judged, interpreted, and used as a means to the ultimate experience of Śiva. Hence, the Śaiva Āgamas are believed to be normative to the understanding of the Vedas and the mystical writings.

The system of the Siddhānta is an interpretation of the intuitions contained in the Āgamas. In fact, "Śaiva Āgama" and "Siddhānta" are interchangeable; they represent a divine self-disclosure that, in relation to all other revelations, is final (Siddhānta = established or conclusive view).[2]

The Siddhānta's theological method is similar to that followed by the expositors of Bādarāyaṇa, and has a fivefold format: 1.

1. Until recently the study of Āgamas has been neglected by most Indologists. For instance, A. B. Keith's *A History of Sanskrit Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1928) does not even mention the Āgamas. Winternitz in his monumental work on the *History of Indian Literature* (Calcutta, 1927) devotes just one paragraph (see 1:588) and a few notes to the Āgamas. Others like J. N. Farquhar, in *An Outline of the Religious History of India* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1920), and Schomerus, in *Der Śaiva Siddhānta* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1912), either treat the Āgamas inadequately or, as Schomerus does, poorly analyze them. The most praiseworthy attempt is the research being done by Jean and Pierre Filliozat and N. R. Bhatt, who are making a very scholarly study at l'Institut Français d'Indologie, Pondicherry, South India. I am indebted to all of them, particularly to Jean Filliozat, for some important points in our study of the Āgamas. See, Jean Filliozat, "Les Āgama Çāvaites," in *Rauravāgama*, ed. N. R. Bhatt, 2 vols. Publications de l'Institut Francais d'Indologie, No. 18 (Pondicherry, South India: l'Institut Français d'Indologie, 1961), 1:v-xv.

2. *Kāmika Āgama* 1:114b-119, cited in N. R. Bhatt, ed., *Ajitāgama*, 2 vols. (Pondicherry, South India: l'Institut Français d'Indologie, 1964-67), 1:1.

Theme (*viṣaya, pratijñā*), the statement of the thesis; 2. Doubt (*saṃśaya*), problems that the thesis raises; 3. Dissentient views (*pūrvapakṣa*), arguments against the thesis; 4. Orthodox judgment (siddhānta), arguments establishing the thesis; 5. Relevance (*prayojana*), theological significance of the thesis.[1]

It is in accordance with this method that the Siddhānta interprets its Triad of Categories, and employs them to establish the inferiority or imperfect character of the Preliminary or Dissentient Views (*pūrvapakṣa*) in relation to itself, the Definitive Doctrine (*siddhānta*). These two classes (of Views and Doctrines) comprise four groups—the Outermost, the Outer, the Inner and the Innermost. The first three are included under Dissentient Views, and the last is identified with the Definitive Doctrine.[2]

The Outermost Group accepts only the Category of Bond, and is said to be formed of systems like Buddhism, Jainism and Materialism. The Outer Group accepts Beast and Bond, and is said to comprise doctrines like the Sāṅkhya, Yoga, Logicism, Atomism, the Precedent Inquiry (*Pūrva Mīmāṃsā*), the Vaiṣṇava Pāñcarātra, and the One Soul Doctrine (*Ekātmavāda*), presumably the Monist Vedānta.

On the other hand, the Inner Group accepts the whole Triad, Master, Beast and Bond, and is said to include the non-Siddhānta Śaiva denominations, the Left, the Terrifier and the Great Vow-Holder Sects, Skullmanism, the two Pastoralisms, and the Oneness Doctrine (*aikyavāda*), presumably Śrīkaṇṭha's Śaiva Nondualism, or even Triadism.

Finally, there is the Innermost Group, the Siddhānta which, in addition to the Triad, affirms the existence of the Infinitesimal Pollution (*āṇavamala*) and the preeminence of the Āgama, over all other sources of Revelation. This group comprises six doctrines (some of which we have been unable to identify), subsumed

1. Pereira, pp. 438-40.

2. The Āgamas themselves give two groups: the Out and Ingroups. "sthūlaṃ ca sūkṣmaṃ caiva samayaṃ dvividhaṃ bhavet, sthūlaṃ *bāhyaṃ* iti proktaṃ sūkṣmam *ābhyantaraṃ* smṛtam." *Yogaja Āgama* cited in Velliambalavānar, *Nānāvarana Vilakka Māpādiam*, (Dharmāpura: Dharmāpura Ādinam, 1957), p. 2.

"lokāyato'tha bauddhaścārhato mīmāṃsā eva ca, māyāvādaḥ pāñcarātram ṣaḍete samaya-bahiḥ, śaivam pāśupataṃ vāmaṃ bhairavaṃ tu mahāvratam kālamukhamiti khyātam antaḥ samayāṣṭakam." *Ajita Āgama* cited in Ibid., pp. 2-3.

under three subgroups—according as they emphasize Difference, or Identity or both.

Emphasizing Difference are the Rock Doctrine (*pāṣāṇavāda*) and Differentism (*bhedavāda*); emphasizing both Difference and Identity are the Śiva Equality Doctrine (*Śivasamavāda*), the Śiva Permeation Doctrine (*Śivasaṅkrāntavāda*) and the Unmodification Doctrine (*avikāravāda*); and emphasizing Identity is Siddhānta Śaiva Nondualism (*Śivādvaita*), also known as The Transformation of the Efficient Cause Doctrine (*nimittakāraṇapariṇāmavāda*).

What we have here is a structured theology of Comparative Religion, on the "gradationist" model, which establishes a hierarchy among systems, the lowest being the farthest away from the truth, and the highest the most near to it, if not identical with it. This model is common in Christian and Islamic theologies. Outlined in the Āgamas, the Siddhānta version of gradualism was fully evolved by Śivajñānayogin in his *summa* of the Tamil Siddhānta, the *Great Dravidian Exposition* (*Drāviḍa Māpādiam*).

But this carefully worked pattern is established at the price of misrepresentation and distortion, even though the Siddhānta's intentions seem genuinely ecumenical. For instance Jainism, for whom the soul (*jīva*) is the noblest level of reality, is said not to believe in Beast (*paśu*, the Śaiva equivalent of the Jaina *jīva*) but only in Bond (*pāśa*, the Śaiva equivalent of the Jaina *ajīva*). Equally absurd is the part assigned to the monist Vedānta, of believing, not in Master, but only in Beast and Bond. What, it may be asked, is the Vedānta's Brahman, if not Master, in fact (in view of Vedāntic systems) an Absolute even transcending Master? Since it is doubtful if these and other doctrines will accept the role that the Siddhānta so cavalierly assigns them, this gradualist model can serve only to confirm the Siddhāntins in their faith, and not as a basis for inter-religious dialogue.

Phases of Siddhānta Literature

The history of the Siddhānta's literature can be divided into four phases—that of the Siddhānta's Scriptures or the Āgamas; of the Tamil devotional poets; of the systematic theologians in Sanskrit; and of the systematic theologians in Tamil. These phases correspond to the main phases of the Siddhānta's thought.

The first phase (ca. 7th cent.) of the Āgamas develops often

in a bewildering complexity the metaphysics, cosmology, symbols, rituals and ethics of the Siddhānta. As with Hindu theology in general, the basic problems are what the Goal of Life is and what the means (*mārga*) to this goal are. The goal, Śiva and liberation, is undisputed. The *means* is generally declared to be knowledge; but devotion gradually discloses itself.

In the second phase (7th-10th cent.), the primacy of knowledge as means is disputed by the Tamilian devotionalists. In their passionate conviction, devotion is the sole means; the medium in which this devotion is expressed is poetry and song. The theology of the time lacks the vocabulary to justify the conviction, and it is not until Rāmānuja's time (11th cent.) that such justification will be found. Before that, however, the complex doctrine of the Siddhānta needs to be organized, the principal insights established, those of secondary importance co-ordinated, and the principal ones harmonized.

The third phase (11th cent.) of the Sanskrit systematics, begun in the ninth century, achieves this—mainly through the works of Bhoja, the Siddhānta monists like Śrīkumāra and lastly Aghoraśiva. Bhoja's classification of Siddhānta doctrine is masterly, but he leaves unexplained the precise relation of the transcendent Śiva to the phenomenal Beast and Bond. His imprecision occasions the Siddhānta's dilemma—whether or not to postulate self-differentiation or emanation within God Himself in the form of categories like the Five Pure Principles of the Śaiva Siddhānta. For, as we saw, to postulate divine self-differentiation, in the minds of Hindu theologians, entailed divine self-emptying, and the lapse of the transcendent into the phenomenal. Not to postulate such self-differentiation would either require an elimination of the Five Pure Principles or their relegation to the realm of the unconscious. It was the second alternative that Aghoraśiva chose and so changed the course of Siddhānta thought. The transcendent, he declared, was the Supreme Śiva, bipolar, without emanation, in the form of Śiva, the Energizer (*śaktimat*) and his Energy (*śakti*). The nature of the Siddhānta's goal was thus definitively established. It remained to decide whether this goal is to be attained through knowledge or devotion.

The last phase (13th-18th cent.), that of Tamilian systematics, unequivocally affirmed it to be devotion. In doing so it generally

rejected the earlier Siddhānta doctrines which seemed to deny the soul's subjection to God, as the doctrine of Equality with Śiva (*Śivasamavāda*). In consequence, it came to be preoccupied with grace, a divine quality which, more than any other, underscores this subjection. At the same time, there was a renewed sympathy for Nondualism, as is seen in the fact that Pure Nondualism (*śuddhādvaita*) is the term employed by the Tamil Siddhānta to describe itself. However, Aghoraśiva's efforts had grounded the system unshakeably on Difference; to reject his solution would have meant lapsing into Vedāntic monism and the elimination of the Siddhānta's identity. So Nondualism was interpreted to mean not identity of substance, but immediate and inseparable relationship,[1] between God and souls. There was a general neglect of the Sanskrit Siddhāntins (whose works were seldom, if ever, quoted), and a return to the Āgamic sources, in particular the *Raurava*, *Pauṣkara* and *Mṛgendra Āgamas*. Finally, the systematics of Bādarāyaṇa was preferred to that of Bhoja or any other theologians.

We shall now examine the Siddhānta literature of these four phases in detail. Firstly, the Āgamas, with their classification, content, importance, and probable date; secondly, the works of the Tamil devotionalists; thirdly, those of the Sanskrit systematicians; and lastly, of the Tamil systematicians.

The Āgamas

Classification

The Śaiva Āgama is divided into four classes: Dualist Pastoralist, the Lunar or Moon God Doctrine (Soma), the Monist Pastoralist (of Lakulīśa) and the Śaiva. The Śaiva is of three kinds: the Left (Vāma), which includes schools such as Skullmanism, Fierce Face Doctrine, and the Non-Terrifying Doctrine (Aghora); the Right (Dakṣiṇa) under which comes Triadism; and the Siddhānta, with which the Śaiva Āgamas, as we have seen, are properly identified.[2]

1. K. Śivarāman, *Śaivism in Philosophical Perspective* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1973), pp. 141-45.
2. N. R. Bhatt, ed., *Ajitāgama*.

The Siddhānta recognizes twenty-eight Āgamas,[1] divided into two groups, the dualist Śaiva, and the monist-dualist Rudra.[2] The former comprises ten Āgamas and the latter eighteen. These twenty-eight Āgamas each have supplementary (*upa-*) Āgamas, reaching a total of at least two hundred and seven.[3]

Content

In theory, each Āgama consists of four sections (*pādas*): Doctrine (*jñāna*), Ritual (*kriyā*), Iconic Prescription (*caryā*) and Discipline (*yoga*). The first discusses metaphysics, epistemology and ethics. The second sets forth liturgical rules. The third records the architectural and scriptural traditions in accordance with which Śaiva temples were built and statues made. The last deals with yogic discipline as a means of attaining the philosophical ideal.

In reality, however, only the *Suprabheda*, and the *Kiraṇa* are arranged according to the four sections.[4] In some Āgamas, two or more sections are condensed together[5]; in others, the material of one section is found in another.[6]

Importance

Etymologically *āgama* means "that which has come." It is interpreted as "that which is handed down" by Śiva. The more elaborate traditional explanation is that the third of the Five Pure Principles, the Ever-Beneficent (*Sadāśiva*), to which corresponds the Sonic Brahman or Absolute (*Śabdabrahman*), in order to destroy the ignorance of the world and to reveal the knowledge

1. For the titles, see *infra*, Appendix 2.

2. In addition to this two-fold division, Abhinavagupta adds a third called the Bhairava, consisting of sixty-four Āgamas, which form the basis of monistic teachings. For the titles, see Pandey, *Abhinavagupta*, pp. 140-43.

3. See *infra*, Appendix 3.

4. Bhatt, ed., *Ajitāgama*, p. ii.

5. In the *Rauravāgama*, there is a section named in the colophon as *rauravasūtra-saṅgraha* and *vidyāpāda*, which, in fact, is a condensation of Knowledge and Discipline sections. In the *Ajitāgama*, the tenth chapter treats of the proper form of Śiva (*śivasvarūpa*), which is a subject relevant to the Knowledge section. *Ibid.*, p. ii.

6. In the *Kiraṇāgama*, for example, chaps. 51-57 which treat of consecration and restoration—matters relevant to Ritual—are actually included in the section on Iconic Prescription. *Ibid.*, p. iii.

of reality created, at first, ten Śivas and eighteen Rudras whom He taught the content of the corresponding ten and eighteen Śaiva Āgamas. Then each of them revealed the Āgama which he had received to different gods. In their turn, these gods transmitted the teaching to individual sages who gave it to ordinary men. Thus what we possess now is what was revealed by Śiva Himself and handed down from master to disciple.[1]

The Āgamas are also called Tantras. The latter term is generally used among the Kashmir Śaiva schools, the former, by the Siddhāntins, particularly in the South. The *Śabdakalpadruma* defines *tantra* as "that which develops subjects relative to essences and formulae, and which makes salvation possible; wherefore it is called *Tantra*."[2] *Āgama* is opposed to *Nigama* as *Tantra* to *Veda*. Although much less used, *Nigama* can always replace the term *Veda*, since the former is defined as "that by which one knows." Similarly, *Tantra*, which is a conjunction of the two terms *tan* meaning "hang out" and *trā* meaning "rescue," can take the place of the term *Āgama*.[3]

The Vedas and Āgamas are distinguished as the "general" and "special" revelations.[4] The lack of definiteness in the former is supplemented, according to most Śaiva Siddhānta thinkers, by the content of the latter, which make the inner meaning of the Vedic revelation accessible to all. Śrīkaṇṭha, the Śaiva commentator on Bādarāyaṇa's *Aphorisms on the Brahman* (the *Brahma Sūtras*), maintains that there is no perceivable difference between the Vedas and the Āgamas.[5] Tirumūlar, the author of *Sacred Incantation* (*Tirumantiram*) held a similar view.[6] For Śrīkumāra,

1. *Ibid.*, pp. i-ii.
2. J. Filliozat, p. vii.
3. *Ibid.*
4. The Siddhānta recognizes that the 'special' is more revealing insofar as it contains the key for understanding the Vedic revelation. Hence it accepts the Śaiva Upaniṣads and Śaiva Purāṇas as complementing and clarifying the general Upaniṣads and Purāṇas; and more importantly, the Āgamas as clarifying the Vedas. See, A. Mahadeva Śāstri, ed., *Śaiva Upaniṣads*, The Adyar Library Series, No. 9 (Madras: The Adyar Library, 1950). *Śiva Mahāpurāṇam*, trans. by a Board, 4 vols. (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1972).
5. K. M. Bālasubramaniam, *Special Lectures on Śaiva Siddhānta* (Annamalai, South India: The Annamalai University, 1959), p. 3.
6. "The *Vedas* and *Āgamas* are both of them true, both being the words of the Lord. Consider the first as a general treatise and the latter as a special one.

one of the two principal commentators of Bhoja's *Illumination of the Categories* (*Tattvaprakāśika*), the soundness of his theological knowledge is guaranteed by the trustworthiness of the Āgamas[1], which itself derives from the omniscience of their author, Śiva. All the factors which constitute lack of normativeness, such as passion, hatred and falsity are absent in Śiva; and, since omniscience is devoid of appearance, the Āgamas contain undeluding pronouncements. Śrīkumāra establishes the authority of Śiva from the Āgamas themselves. He says that this does not involve a vicious circle, because the Āgamas are based on another authority, the impersonally originant, hence infallible Vedas.[2] He sees two aspects in the Āgamas, visible and invisible. The visible comprises sacrifices; and their evidently effective tangible results demonstrate its trustworthiness of the Āgama statements that prescribe them—from which Śrīkumāra infers the trustworthiness of the invisible aspect also. By observing smoke in the kitchen, we see also its cause, fire; hence we can infer that there is fire on the mountain when we see smoke there, even though the fire itself is invisible.

Aghoraśiva's view of the Āgamas is similar to that of Śrīkumāra. He says that, unlike the scriptures of Buddhists and Jainas, which have human authors, the Śaiva Āgamas have Śiva Himself as the author.[3] "If Buddha is omniscient," queries Aghoraśiva in the words of a famous verse, "what evidence is there to say that Kapila is not? If, in the absence of such evidence, we take both to be omniscient, why are their teachings divergent?"[4]

The Āgamas are also in conformity with the Vedic teachings. It is on the basis of that that Aghoraśiva defends the orthodoxy of Śaiva Siddhānta. He refers to the Ancient Masters like Śveta and Upamanyu who, according to the Purāṇas and Epics, followed the injunctions prescribed in the Āgamas. In the *Mahā-*

Both of them are God's own words. When examined well, the truly great do not perceive any difference between them even when some differences are perceived by others." *Ibid.*

1. Śrīkumāra, p. 26.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 27. Arguments for the Vedic basis: tantra-śāstram pramāṇam/ vedamūlatvāt/manvādismṛtivat // tad vedamūlam ca tadukta-artha-pratipādakatvāt manvādismṛtivat / *Ibid.*, p. 30.
3. Sadyojyoti, *Tattvasaṅgraha*, v. 56, in *AP*, Bk. II, ch. 2.
4. Aghoraśiva, *Tattvasaṅgrahavyākhyā*, v. 56, in *AP*, 1:2.

bhārata, too, it is stated that Naranārāyaṇa and Aśvatthāman worshipped Śiva in accordance with the Āgamas. In the *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Kārtavīrya Smṛti*, conformity to the Āgamas is recommended when constructing a temple to Śiva. In the *Śiva Sūtras*, the nature of liberation is set forth according to the Āgamas. After thus showing that the Śaiva Āgamas are in conformity with other Scriptures and tradition, Aghoraśiva concludes that their testimony is to be accepted, uncontradicted as they are by all other norms and unapproached in their excellence.

Until now the principal use of the Āgamas has been made in relation to archaeology and art history.[1] Containing and constructing temples and making statues, they are also the primary sources for the identification of the statues and the temples they adorn, particularly in South India.[2] The Āgamas, particularly those preserved in Grantha characters, are also technical treatises of religious practices, and rituals, being used as liturgical handbooks by officiating Śaiva priests. A careful study of them is therefore necessary for a comprehensive knowledge of Hindu religion.

Date

It is not easy to determine exactly the period in which the Āgamas were compiled. Although most of the Āgamas are not extant, those available in print or in manuscripts give clear indications of having been modified in the process of classification. One such indication is that a number of the Āgamas mention or enumerate others. This shows that at least some passages were introduced after a particular Āgama was written. The substance of the individual Āgamas, however, seems to have remained

1. For an appreciation of the Āgamas from the points of view of archaeology and art, See, Gopinath Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography* (Madras, 1914-16); Krisna Śāstri, *South Indian Images of Gods and Goddesses* (Madras, 1916); Prasanna Kumāra Ācharya, *An Encyclopaedia of Hindu Architecture*, 4 vols. (Oxford, 1927-46); Stella Kramrish, *The Hindu Temple* (Calcutta: University of Calcutta, 1946); M. D. N. Shukla, *Vastu-Sastra, Hindu Canons of Iconography and Painting*. All the above works are cited in J. Filliozat, p. vi.

2. The Āgamas in relation to Architecture and Art History are similar to *Agni Purāṇa* in Hindu literature or Sādhanamālā in Buddhist literature. The latter has been used since Alfred Foucher for a study of Tantric Buddhist Iconography. Ibid., p. vi.

intact. But one cannot identify in it formation of the Āgamas in order to make a precise statement on the origin and the elaboration of the Āgama texts.[1]

In spite of this lack of precision, there seems to be ample evidence in the extant sources, first of all, to jettison speculation on a date prior to the sixth century, collectively or individually ascribed to the Āgamas; and second, to establish a date more consonant with the time of the appearance of the Siddhānta school and its canonical and systematic literature.

The Āgamas, as we have remarked earlier, contain detailed explanations on art and architecture. This fact points to the upper limit of the Āgamas as the sixth century, since we know that the period of iconographical literature started only around that time. As Stella Kramrish, a well-known authority in Indian art and architecture, while referring to the use of stone in architecture, remarks: "From the sixth century A.D. onwards, the time of the earliest preserved treatises on architecture, stone was one of the accepted materials."[2]

The canonization of the Āgamas, that is, their recognition as an inspired body of scriptures and their adherence by different Śaiva sects cannot have begun until much later. We do not, for instance, find any reference to the Āgamas or their followers in the writings of the noted poet and historian of the seventh century, Bāṇa.[3] Bāṇa, himself a Śaiva, insatiably curious and with a phenomenal capacity for observing detail, refers to twenty-one religious sects and schools of philosophy which flourished during his time. Among them only four are named and the rest are indicated in such a manner as to become clear by an intelligent decoding of their religious beliefs and practices.[4] That Bāṇa does not mention either the Siddhāntins or the Āgamas is an indication that, if they existed at all, they were not important enough to be recognized.

Another source for investigation is the great Purāṇas, especially

1. *Ibid.*, p. xiii.

2. Stella Kramrish, *The Hindu Temple*, 2 vols. (Calcutta: University of Calcutta, 1946), 1:109.

3. Vasudeva S. Agrawala, *The Deeds of Harsha (Being a Cultural Study of Bana's Harshacharita)*. Redacted and edited by P. K. Agrawala (Varanasi: Prithivi Prakāshan, 1969).

4. For names of sects in Bāṇa's list, see Agrawala, pp. 225-26; 236.

the *Liṅga* and *Kūrma Purāṇas* which seem to be decidedly Monist Pastoralist in their leanings. In general, the dates of the Purāṇas are uncertain. On the basis of critical scholarship, however, we can establish the dates of these texts. A recent study on the *Liṅga Purāṇa* has concluded:

> The *Liṅga Purāṇa* was abridged by Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana Vyāsa in the beginning of Dvāpara age (*Liṅga* 1.2.3).Originally it was composed by Brahmā with the material derived from Īśānakalpa (Ibid., 1.2.1). The abridgement was a natural course, for the old contents ceased to appeal to the later generations. All the same, fresh material was available which the new compilers inserted in the new corpus. The process continued till the beginning of the fifth century A.D. when the bulk of this *Purāṇa* was settled to its present form.[1]

Another important Purāṇa which the Siddhāntins often quote, the *Kūrma*, has two versions. The original one was a Pāñcarātra document and its date, according to R. C. Hazra, falls between 550 and 650 A.D. The second was a Pāśupata or Pastoralist document, dated between 700 and 800 A.D.[2] In the second version, the Pastoralists, while propagating their faith, condemn all the non-Vedic Śāstras which are termed "heretical" or *Pāṣaṇḍa* Śāstras.[3] In neither of these versions do we find any reference to the Siddhānta or to the Āgamas. Hazra concludes from this that the terms *śaiva* and *āgama* did not come into vogue at the time the *Kūrma* was appropriated by the Pastoralists.[4]

The Tamil canonical literature is another valuable source of information for evaluating the antiquity of the Āgamas. There are three devotionalist saints who seem to be the earliest to refer to the Āgamas. They are Tirumūlar, Sundaramūrti, and Mānik-

1. Board of Scholars, The *Liṅga Purāṇa*, 2 parts, Ancient Indian Tradition and Mythology Series, vols. 5 and 6 (Varanasi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1973), 1:xviii.

2. R. C. Hazra, *Puranic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs* (Dacca, 1936), p. 71.

3. *Kūrma Purāṇa*, I.12.261-63; 16.117-19; 30.25; 29; II.16.15; 21.32-33; 39.61-62 etc. cited in G. K. Pai, *Cultural History from the Kūrma Purāṇa* (Cochin, India: Sukṛtindra Oriental Research Institute, 1975), p. 326.

4. Hazra, p. 68.

kavācagar. From this we can assume that the lower limit of the classification of the Āgamas is around 800 A.D., as Hazra points out: "That the *Āgamas* became current not later than 800 A.D. is proved by the references to the *Āgamas* by the Tamil poets Tirumūlar (800 A.D.), Sundarar (800 A.D.), and Manikkavācagar (c. 900 A.D.)."[1]

The evidence of the Iconographical texts, of Bāṇa, of the Purāṇas and of the Tamil canonical texts is complemented by the date of the institutionalization of Śaiva Siddhānta under its traditional founder Guhāvāsī (675); and a century or later by the systematic works of the late ninth century Siddhāntin Sadyojyoti, who continued the tradition of the Āgamas.[2] The combined evidence of all these sources points to ca. 700 as the probable date of the Āgamas, and 800 as the probable date by which they were canonized.

The Tamil Devotionalists and Mystics

Tamil devotionalism (600-900) arose in South India, spearheaded by a group of saints and seers who were poet-devotees (*bhaktas*). They journeyed from temple to temple singing of their personal experiences of Śiva. They were an inspiration to the masses who, in turn, were able to express their religious emotions in song, and enter into mystic communion with Śiva, the terrifying and compassionate god. Their poetic expression together with its musical element captured the minds and hearts of the people and generated a body of Tamil literature of *bhakti* or devotionalism, which came to be common to both the Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava religions. All in all, it was a period of deep spiritual rediscovery and literary achievement for the Tamilians.[3]

The Beginnings of Tamil Mysticism

Later tradition counted sixty-three *nāyanārs* (saints), individual

1. *Ibid.*, p. 71.
2. See above, Chapter I.
3. The Bhakti literature includes the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, the *Prabandham* of the Vaiṣṇava Alvars, *Rāmacaritamānasa* of Tulasīdāsa—a *Rāma-Bhakti* work, and *Kṛṣṇa-Bhakti* works. Here we focus only on the Śiva-Bhakti movement. For a summary of the rest, see R. Antoine et al., *Religious Hinduism* (Bombay: St. Paul Publications, 1964), pp. 232-41.

and collective, as the most prominent leaders of the Śaiva revival.[1] The individuals included the Lady (Ammar) from Kāraikkal, Nandan, a pariah (a member from a low caste) from Adanur, and a general of the Pallava armies, Siruttondar. But the most prominent among them were the three men whose expressions are grouped as the *Hymns* (*Devāram*). First came Tirunāvukkarasu or Appar, a member of the Vellala caste from Tiruvamun, generally considered to be a contemporary of the Pallava ruler Mahendravarman I (580-630) whom Appar converted to Śaivism (middle of the seventh century).[2] The second was Jñānasambandar, a brāhmaṇa of the family of Kuṇḍini (*Kauṇḍinya gotra*) and a contemporary of Appar. He succeeded in spreading Śaivism in Madura and other parts of the Pāṇḍya country which was at that time completely under the sway of Jainism. His Pāṇḍyan patron who helped him achieve this success was either Māravarman Avaniśūlāmani (620-645) or his grandson Arikēsari Māravarman (670-700).[3] Later came the third Nāyanār, Sundaramūrti (ca. 800) of Navalur. He was a close friend of the Cera ruler, Ceraman Perumal (end of the eighth and early ninth century). Legend has it that they visited each other regularly and together made a journey to Mount Kailāsa. Sundara's devotion to Śiva was that of an intimate friend, and hence he received the name Friend of God (Tambīran-Tolan).

After Sundaramūrti came the impassioned devotionalist Mānikkavācagar, the author of *Sacred Sayings* (*Tiruvācagam*). According to legend, he was a minister of a Pāṇḍyan king, probably Varaguna II (862-885). Besides these four prominent saints, the philosopher-saint Tirumūlar occupies a unique place in this golden age of Tamil Śaivism. According to the *Great Cosmic History* (*Periyapurāṇam*), which describes the lives of sixty-three saints, Tirumūlar came to South India from the Kailāsa mountain.[4] Although his date cannot be ascertained precisely, the fact that he seems to have been conversant with the teachings

1. For the names of the 63 saints, see *infra*, Appendix 4.

2. K. A. Nilakantha Śāstri, *A History of South India* (London: Oxford University Press, 1966), p. 424.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 152.

4. J. M. Nallaswami Pillai, *Periyapurāṇam*, The Tamil University Publication Series, 4 (Madras: Rajan and Co., 1955), pp. 71-73.

of the Kashmiri Self-Awareness (*Pratyabhijñā*) school suggests the ninth century as his probable date. He was probably the first to use the word *Siddhānta* in Tamil literature. In the opinion of V. V. Ramana Śāstri, a noted scholar on Śaivism, Tirumūlar brought with him the twenty-eight Āgamas which Śāstri claims were written in the Valley of Kashmir.[1]

The literature that emerged from the devotionalist period is collectively called the *Sacred Canon* (*Tirumurai*) redacted by Nambi Āndār Nambi in twelve books.[2] They form the fountainhead of the Tamil Siddhānta and contain many notable anticipations of the Siddhānta philosophy. Perhaps the earliest author in the group is Lady Kāraikkai (ca. 550). She sang the praises of Śiva after having a vision of the god's dance.[3] Her works mark the beginning of *Prabandha* literature in Tamil—a genre which counted in the course of time no less than ninety-six types. The 307 hymns (*Padigam*) of Appar constitute books four to six of the Śaiva Canon. A significant insight in his hymns is the threefold aspect of Śiva consisting of the lower form whose function is to dissolve the universe; the intermediary form of Śiva and Energy (*Śakti*); and the indestructible Stambha (Columnar) form which is the final place of rest for the soul.[4] Turujnana Sambandar's 384 hymns, of an exceptionally high literary quality, constitute the first three books of the Śaiva Canon. He distinguishes two aspects of Śiva, the higher and lower, the internal and external. The higher aspect is *formless*; it comprises the Ultimate Being from whom proceeds the trinity of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Rudra, and everything else that has a beginning. The lower aspect is *formed*, and consists of the redeemer-Śiva who helps the embodied souls and liberates them from their bondage. Sambandar emphasizes the unity of Śiva hidden under the multiplicity of the universe. The lower form is merged with the higher, formless Śiva, and the Supreme Self (*paramātman*) is "the end, the beginning and the entire universe."[5] Referring to the Power (*māyā*) of Śiva, Sambandar says: He (śiva) is the

1. Ayyar, pp. 206-209.
2. For the titles of the Tamil Canon, see *infra*, Appendix 5.
3. K. A. N. Śāstri, p. 368.
4. Ayyar, pp. 371-72.
5. *Padigam* 21.2-3 (Ayyar, pp. 345-46).

other half of Her who is the first of all Energies (Śaktis). He also speaks of the Śaiva Āgama teaching on Pollution (*mala*), the Sāṅkhya categories, and the five-fold function of Śiva.[1] Sambandar's constant reference to the external form of Śiva was to enable the devotees to meditate on the inner meaning of these forms. He thus encouraged devotion to Śiva as a means of obtaining release from earthly fetters.

The Summation of Tamil Mysticism : Manikkavācagar

Manikkavācagar, often considered the greatest of Śaiva mystics, wrote two important works. The first, *Sacred Garland* (*Tirukkovai*), a poem of 400 stanzas, depicts the theme of love between Śiva and the soul. The second, the Sacred Sayings,[2] in fifty-one hymns, emphasizes devotion, and is also important as an exposition of the Śaiva Siddhānta. In it Manikkavācagar speaks of the soul's experience in the universe. After being born in different forms from an ant to an elephant, the human soul meditates on each of its previous existences. When it mentally reaches the human form, it becomes aware of the bondage of passion and ignorance. Then Śiva appears in the guise of a teacher—at which moment the devotee must fall at His feet and praise Him:

> O Being rare—Whom even the "earth-born gods" find not—that Thee I may not quit, O Ruler, show me grace ![3]

Manikkavācagar relates his own experience in these different stages, and speaks of the visions he had of God in each stage. He recognizes that everything is an epiphany of God and sees himself as the worshipper. Then, describing God as neither "this" nor "that", male nor female, nor even neuter, he exclaims:

> The tongue itself that cries to Thee,—all other powers of my whole being that cry out,—all are Thyself ! Thou art my way of strength ! The trembling thrill that runs through me

1. *Padigam* 296.3.115.4; 119.6; 126.7 (Ayyar, pp. 348-51).
2. G. U. Pope, *Tiruvācagam* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1900); Ayyar, pp. 398-443.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 225.

is Thee ! Thyself, the whole of ill and weal ! None other here.....[1]

Manikkavācagar describes the infinite bliss of Śiva and asserts that Śiva knows none other than Śiva. He speaks of grace as the cause of purification of the soul, and looks upon life as a probation, a preparation for eternal fellowship and communion with the Supreme. He emphasizes the effectiveness of prayer and worship and prays for mercy and forgiveness of offenses. For him, devotion to Śiva surpasses every kind of religious observance and release is mystic union with Śiva.[2]

Wellspring of Tamil Systematics : Tirumūlar

Tirumūlar's *Sacred Incantation* (*Tirumantiram*) seems to be the earliest Tamil exposition of the Siddhānta in its metaphysical, moral, and mystical aspects. It is divided into nine sections consisting of :

1. *Rules of Religion and Ethics.*
2. *Philosophy*, dealing with Śiva's five activities, the threefold classification of souls (Conditioned, Dissolution-Deconditioned, Intelligence-Deconditioned), along with some Purāṇic and Epic accounts.
3. *Yoga.*
4. *Esoteric Exposition of different Mystic Incantations* (*mantras*).
5. *The Śaiva Schools, their salvific means and goal*, containing a general description of the different forms of Śaivism, of the four means to liberation and the descent of grace.
6. The path to liberation treating of the search for Śiva within, a search which results in the bestowal of grace in the form of the eight yogic powers, the realization of the Mystic Incantations of the knowledge and devotion; the attainment of Śiva through meditation; the bliss of Śiva as true knowledge; detachment, performance of sacrifice and praise of Śiva as the path to liberation; penance as fortitude to resist the attraction of perishable pleasures; and the path of some wise men with fully developed minds.
7. Nucleus (*Bindu*) and its evolutes.

1. *Ibid.*, p. 227.
2. Ayyar, p. 275.

8. The unity of the Triad of Categories: Master, Beast and Bond.

9. Liberation as Void (*śūnya*) which is Divine Bliss.

The Sanskrit Systematicians

The Āgamas, as we noticed, were in existence by 700, and had acquired canonical authority by 800. They had been composed after Buddhist theology had reached its pinnacle of conceptual refinement and systematic comprehensiveness, in thinkers like Nāgārjuna, Asaṅga, Vasubandhu, Candrakīrti and Diṅnāga. Hindu theology was to produce figures of like stature somewhat later, but the world in which the Āgamas were produced possessed a precise philosophical vocabulary which earlier ages had lacked. Hence the scriptures of the Siddhānta already have a greater systematic consistency than, say, the *Mahābhārata* and the *Upaniṣads*.

With the Āgamas canonized, the Siddhānta theologians were saddled with the task of completing the systematization of the Āgama doctrines by further clarifying and coordinating their content. This first took the form of commentaries on the Āgamas, especially the *Raurava*, the *Svāyambhuva*, the *Pauṣkara*, the *Mṛgendra* and the *Mātaṅga*. Of these the *Raurava* was credited with the initial formulation of the Triad of Categories[1]—Master, Beast and Bond—on which the fabric of the Siddhānta systematics was erected.

The systematization of the Sanskrit Siddhānta was begun in the ninth century by Sadyojyoti and Bṛhaspati. It was continued by Rāmakaṇṭha I, Śrīkaṇṭha, Nārāyaṇakaṇṭha and Rāmakaṇṭha II, who may be called its continuators. It was completed by Bhoja, who may be called its consummator. Its elaboration—after a false start in that direction by Śrīkumāra—was achieved by Aghoraśiva, whose mission it was to interpret, enrich, rectify (and to some extent distort) the wisdom of his predecessors, and

1. Sapta svāyambhuve proktāḥ ṣaṭ pauṣkaramātaṅgayoḥ. śrīmat parākhye pañcoktāḥ padārthāḥ raurave trayaḥ. Quoted in Śivāgrayogī, *Śaivaparibhāṣā, pariccheda* 2, ed. H. R. Rangaswamy and R. Ramaṇa Śāstrin, Oriental Research Institute Publications, Sanskrit Series, No. 90 (Mysore: Government Press, 1950), p. 28.

to transmit it to the Tamilian Siddhānta that was to follow. In other words, it was the destiny of the Tamilian Aghoraśiva to be the all-India Siddhānta's last great theologian.

The Founders of Sanskrit Systematics

Sadyojyoti and Bṛhaspati are the co-founders of the Siddhānta systematics. Says Rāmakaṇṭha II, extolling them:

> I honor Sadyojyoti and Bṛhaspati. The two (sages) who, by their experience as Accomplished Ones, illuminated the path to the Siddhānta and of the Masters.[1]

Of Sadyojyoti, who as his name indicates, was the "Sudden Light" of the Siddhānta, we know nothing, except that he probably lived in Central India towards the end of the ninth century, was a pupil of a teacher named Ugrajyoti, and was also called Protector of the Village (*Kheṭapāla*), The Gladdner of Kheṭaka or of the Village (*Kheṭakanandana*), The Accomplished Teacher (*Siddha Guru*), The Author of the Commentary on the *Rauravāgama* (*Rauravavṛttikṛt*), The Author of the Good Commentary (*Suvṛttikṛt*) or just The Author of the Commentary (*Vṛttikṛt*).[2] As we can infer from his writings, he was a learned grammarian, logician and ritualist, and, of course, theologian.

Sadyojyoti's works are generally short metrical treatises in *kārikā* form purporting to make the diffuse and complex teachings of the scriptures intelligible to dull minds. They are monographs, on topics like experience or liberation, as the following titles suggest: *Memorial Verses on (Mundane) Experience* (*Bhogakārikā*), Memorial Verses on Liberation (*Mokṣakārikā*), and Refutative Memorial Verses on Alien (Doctrines of) Liberation (*Paramokṣanirāsakārikā*); or Systematic Summaries of Siddhānta doctrines, with titles such as, the *Collection of Principles or Categories* (*Tattvasaṅgraha*) and the *Ascertainment of the Three Principles* (*Tattvatrayanirṇaya*); or commentaries on the Āgamas, like the *Raurava* and the *Svāyambhuva*, as the Inquiry into the Lord (*Nareśvaraparīkṣā*). As one of his names indicates, it was his exposition of the *Raurava* that earned Sadyojyoti (*Vṛttikṛt*) his fame.[3]

1. Rāmakaṇṭha, *Mokṣakārikāvyākhyā*, opening paean, in *AP*, 2:4.
2. Sadyojyoti, *Mokṣakārikā*, v. 157, in *AP*, 2:4.
3. With the exception of the commentaries on the Āgamas, the other works mentioned above are found in *AP*, Bk. I, chs. 2-3; Bk. II, chs. 3-5.

Besides being the first theologian to attempt a systematization of the Siddhānta, Sadyojyoti also seems to have been the first to identify the term "Siddhānta" with the Śaiva dualism based on the Triad of Categories—Master, Beast and Bond. His writings made this dualism—the most widespread of the Śaiva denominations, more so than Triadism itself—a force to be reckoned with.[1] They had a great impact on his successors, among whom was Aghoraśiva, who never tires of praising him, and in one place exclaims that:

> the mass of [his own] ignorance-darkness was dispelled by the rays—in the guise of the statements of the *True Commentary*—of the sun, the noble Kheṭakanandana.[2]

Of Sadyojyoti's colleague, Bṛhaspati, we know even less. He was the author of at least two works, a *Commentary on the Rauravāgama* and *The Science of Śiva's Form* (*Śivatanuśāstra*), quotations from which survive in Abhinava's great Triadic classic, the *Light on the Tantras* (*Tantrāloka*).[3]

Rāmakaṇṭha I, also known as Rajanaka(?), probably lived around 925-975. He was a pupil of Utpala, and seems to have written commentaries on Śaivism from both monistic and dualistic viewpoints. He was one of Aghoraśiva's teachers,[4] which probably explains the pupils' use of the Triadic concept of the Supreme Śiva, seemingly unknown to Bhoja. His main Śaiva work appears to be *The True Commentary* (*Sadvṛtti*), in which he discusses Śiva, Energy and Nucleus, and which influenced the Śaiva Siddhāntin, Śrīkaṇṭha.

Śrīkaṇṭha was a pupil of Rāmakaṇṭha I, and belonged to the first half of the eleventh century. Very little is known of his life, and his only work of some importance for Śaiva Siddhānta is

1. See Abhinava's and Jayaratha's refutation of Sadyojyoti's dualistic interpretation of Śaiva Categories, in *Tantrāloka*, VI, 250, cited in Pandey, *Abhinavagupta*, p. 169.

2. Aghoraśiva, *Tattvasaṅgrahavyākhyā*, colophon, in *AP*, 1:2.

3. *Tantrāloka*, 8:230, 263, 299, 301, 345; 9:206. All references to *Tantrāloka*, unless otherwise indicated, are to Abhinavagupta, *Tantrāloka*, Fr. Raniero Gnoli, *Luce delle Sacre Scritture* (*Tantrāloka*) *di Abhinavagupta* (Turino: Unione Tipografico-Editrice Torinese, 1972).

4. Aghoraśiva, *Nādakārikāvṛtti*, v. 26, in *AP*, 2:3.

the *Triple Gem* (*Ratnatraya*), a brief treatment of the philosophy of language from a dualistic viewpoint.[1]

Nārāyaṇakaṇṭha, the son and pupil of a little known teacher Vidyākaṇṭha, lived around 1075 and 1100.[2] His works include commentaries on the *Mṛgendrāgama* and on Sadyojyoti's *Collection of Principles*. The commentary on the latter is known as the *Great Commentary* (*Bṛhaṭṭīkā*) or *Autumnal Night* (*Śaranniśā*), since it is on such a night that, according to Sanskrit poets, the full moon (here Sadyojyoti's work) shines at its brightest. He points out the defects in the existing commentaries on the *Mṛgendra* and criticizes the views of the Buddhists, Jainas, Materialists, Vedāntins, Ritualists, Sāṅkhyans, Yogīs, Logicists and Atomists. Aghoraśiva, who wrote a gloss on Nārāyaṇakaṇṭha's commentary on the *Mṛgendra*, uses the latter's views to support his own teachings.[3]

Bhaṭṭa Rāmakaṇṭha (1100-1130), who is from Kashmir, was Aghoraśiva's mentor. His profound influence is admitted by Aghoraśiva who exclaims: "Following as I do the steps of the great-throated lion Rāmakaṇṭha, I am not frightened by the trumpetings of the elephants of the bad philosophers."[4] Rāmakaṇṭha's works include monographs on incantations (*mantra*) and the Āgamas and commentaries on the *Mātaṅga* and *Svāyambhuva Āgamas* and on the *Gītā* (the one Vaiṣṇava sacred text found acceptable to most Śaiva schools). They also include commentaries on three of Sadyojyoti's works; but his most celebrated treatise seems to be his *Memorial Verses on Sound* (*Nādakārikā*), a Śaiva philosophy of language based on that of Bhartṛhari's Sonic Absolutism (*Śabdabrahmavāda*).[5]

Systematizer of the Siddhānta : Bhoja

We now come to Bhoja Paramāra (ca. 1018-1060),[6] "the

1. Śrīkaṇṭha, *Ratnatrayam*, vv. 80-85, in *AP*, 2:1.

2. Pandey, *Abhinavagupta*, pp. 174-75.

3. N. Kriṣṇa Śāstri and K. M. Subramani Śāstri, eds., *Śrī Mṛgendram* (Devakottai, South India: Śaiva Siddhānta Paripālana Saṅgham, 1928).

4. Aghoraśiva, "Mṛgendra Vṛtti Dīpikā," opening paeans, v. 4, in N. Kriṣṇa Śāstri, *Śrī Mṛgendram*, p. 1.

5. *AP*, 2:3. For a selection of the titles of Sanskrit systematic works, see *infra*, Appendix 3.

6. The name Bhoja is used in ancient Indian literature in three ways: First, as the royal designation applicable to the consecrated monarchs of the

greatest scholar of his age, steeped in the immense philosophical literature produced during almost two millennia before his time, and the greatest warrior of the century."[1] He belonged to an India debilitated by constant internal warfare by different dynasties—in which he, too, participated—and thus virtually defenseless against the savage inroads of Islam. These were perpetrated by Bhoja's older contemporary Mahmūd of Ghaznī (ca. 1008), himself like Bhoja, a great patron of the arts but, unlike the Hindu monarch, no artist, poet and theologian. Not very long before Bhoja's time the Rāṣṭrakūṭa empire, perhaps the most extensive Hindu empire in history, had been destroyed by the Cālukyas, a dynasty also inimical to the Paramāras. It was in battle with them that his uncle Muñja had been captured and later executed. It was this tragedy that brought Bhoja to the throne (1018). In 1019 he conquered the Northern Koṅkan and in celebration of his victory "bathed and worshipped," as he himself said, "the Lord of the moving and the motionless, *Bhagavān Bhavānipati* [the blessed Master of the goddess Pārvatī, Śiva Himself]."[2]

Among his many achievements was the erection of India's largest artificial lake, the Bhojpur lake, 250 miles in extent. Its main bund was forty feet high and about 100 feet broad. The lake itself was 100 feet deep in places, and was "the largest and most beautiful lake that adorned the surface of India."[3] At his

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Southern region in India; secondly, as a tribal name of a people; and thirdly, as a proper name borne by several princes of Kanauj and Mālawā. See Sachchidānanda Bhaṭṭāchārya, *A Dictionary of Indian History* (New York: George Braziller, 1967), p. 137. The author of the *Illumination of the Categories* is undoubtedly Bhoja Paramāra. Recent scholarship on Bhoja has been unusually cautious in identifying the author's name. For, Kanauj was the cradle of the family of Abhinavagupta, and is also an important center of Śaiva doctrines. The main reason for the uncertainty is a comment of Aghoraśiva himself. In his *Paddhati*, Aghoraśiva gives his spiritual lineage and mentions Uttuṅga Śiva of Lāṭa as the third preceptor. Uttuṅga Śiva (or his brother) was Bhoja's teacher 'who has determined the meaning of the Āgamas'. On the basis of this lineage in which there are twelve teachers between Uttuṅga and Aghora, Pierre Filliozat recommends that we look for a Bhoja who is earlier than the king of Dhārā who ruled from 1018 to 1060. See P. S. Filliozat, p. 248.

1. P. T. Srinivasa Ayyangar, *Bhoja Rāja*. Annamalai University Historical Series (Madras, 1931), p. 59.
2. One of Bhoja's Inscriptions quoted by Ayyangar, p. 50.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 107.

capital he erected a temple to his favorite goddess, Sarasvatī, to whom also he dedicated one of his most important works, *The Necklace of the Goddess of Learning* (*Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇam*). That temple was a university where the scholars he endowed worked; it was probably they who aided him in the compilation if not composition of the many works that go under his name. However, it is by no means unlikely that the works are all his own unaided composition, for the wide erudition and accomplishment they represent was not infrequent for the India of his time. They are all true to character, being generally works of synthesis. Some of Bhoja's most important works are[1] : *The Illumination of the Categories* (*Tattvaprakāśikā*); *The Royal Sun* (*Rājamārtaṇḍa*), a Commentary on Patañjali's *The Yoga Aphorisms*; *Necklace of the Goddess of Learning* (*Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa*); and *The Splendor of Eros* (*Śṛṅgāraprakāśa*), both definitive treatises on poetics and the *Commander of the Battlefield* (*Samarāṅgaṇasūtradhāra*) an encyclopedia of art and architecture.

Siddhānta Monists: Śrīkumāra and Others

Bhoja sifted the metaphysical elements from the mass of Siddhānta scriptural and theological texts and constituted a single theological system of doctrine. But he ignored or avoided the Siddhānta's dilemma.

It must be observed that in general Śaiva thought since the Dualist Pastoralists was moving relentlessly in a monist direction. This is specially evident in the Śaiva Purāṇas, which are all without exception monist, following the mode of Difference-in-Identity. According to their beliefs, self-differentiation in the Absolute, as we have often remarked, necessarily entails its self-emptying or self-abasement. The most formidable opponent of this monism was the Sāṅkhya system, an impenitent dualism for whom self-differentiation occurs only in unconscious substances such as its own primordial Matter.

As Bhoja does not allude to any Siddhānta monists (thinkers who endeavored to integrate Siddhānta doctrines with the general teaching of Śaiva monism), and as we know of them mainly from the works of the principal Siddhānta monist, Śrīkumāra, it may be assumed that these monists lived between Bhoja and

1. For Bhoja's other literary works, see *infra*, Appendix 3.

Śrīkumāra. One of them is the author of *The Śaiva Mystery* (*Śaiva Rahasyam*) quoted in the Introduction. This author's monism is similar to that later articulated more complexly by Vallabha—for whom concealment and manifestation are the principles whereby the plenary Brahman respectively limits or discloses its plenitude. In the words of *The Śaiva Mystery*:

> All of Śiva's essential attributes shine in their fullness in the Master. Only some do in the Bonds and all are concealed in the Beasts.[1]

Another author, presumably a Siddhānta Śaiva, known as the author of the *Century* (*Śatakakāra*) explains the relationship of the world to God in specifically Triadic terms:

> The supreme principle, vacuous of concepts, the pure, the tranquil, devoid of decay and origination—in it shines the Thirty-Six-Category-natured-world. As in the reflection in the mirror, the individual picture of cities, villages, and such places shines as though divided within itself and also from the mirror: so also the Śiva-Form, though vacuous of division, shines as though mutually divided within itself and also from the most pure consciousness of the Supreme Śiva.[2]

There are several writers to whom Śrīkumāra alludes. The following is a list of their works and their names as far as we have been able to identify them—mainly through the quotations of Śrīkumāra, but also from allusions by Bhaṭṭa Rāmakaṇṭha, Jayaratha, Abhinavagupta, and Mādhava, the author of the *Collection of All the Systems* (*Sarva Darśana Saṅgraha*). The only exception is Gurudevācārya, or Īśānaśiva, the author of *Īśānaśiva*

1. "patyau Śivasvabhāvāḥ sarve sarvātmanā prakāśante/ kecana pāśeṣu, paśuṣu cāntardadhate niravaśeṣam." Quoted in Śrīkumāra, p. 25.

2. "sarvavikalpavihīnam śuddham śāntaṃ vyayodayavihīnam / yat paratattvam tasmin vibhāti ṣaḍtriṁśadātma jagat. darpaṇabimbe yadvannagaragrāmādi citramavibhāgi / bhāti vibhāgenaiva ca parasparam darpaṇādapi ca.

vimalataraparamaśāmbhavabodhāt tadvadvibhāgaśūnyamapi / anyonyam ca tato'pi ca vibhaktamābhāti śivarūpam iti." Quoted in Śrīkumāra, pp. 72-73.

Gurudeva Paddhati: Avadhūta; Gurudevācārya, author of *Handbook of the Divine Teacher Īśānaśiva* (*Īśānaśiva Gurudeva Paddhati*); Śaṅkaranandana, author of *The Embelishment of Wisdom* (*Prajñālaṅkāra*); Anonymous, *The Establishment of the Six Paths* (*Adhvasiddhi*); Anonymous, *Necklace of the Jewels of Knowledge* (*Jñānaratnāvali*); Anonymous, *The Śaiva Mystery* (*Śaivarahasyam*); Anonymous, *The Heart of the Siddhānta* (*Siddhāntahṛdayam*); Śatakakāra, *The Century* (*Śataka*); Anonymous, *The Many-Divinitied* (*Bahudaivatya*).

Śrīkumāra is perhaps the first writer to take cognizance of the nondualism of Gauḍapāda and Śaṅkara and indeed of his successors such as Padmapāda and Vācaspati Miśra (for it is they and not Gauḍapāda or Śaṅkara who are responsible for the formulation of the doctrine of Transmogrification versus Transformation). Śrīkumāra at great length expounds and refutes the nondualist doctrines about the falsity of the world.[1] At the same time, he upholds its theory of Transmogrification (*vivarta*, a tenet derived precisely from the doctrine of the world's falsity, rejected by all other Śaiva Siddhāntins). Śrīkumāra thus seems to typify the Siddhānta hesitant before its dilemma. At the same time, he accepts Rāmānuja's archetype of the Embodier-Embodied (*śarīra-śarīri-rūpa*) as the ultimate trichotomous explanation of the universe. This archetype, in Rāmānuja's mind, is necessarily connected with Transformation (*pariṇāma*) and exclusive of Transmogrification—another instance both of Śrīkumāra's inconsistency and on the Siddhānta's predicament in his time. We can therefore date Śrīkumāra between Rāmānuja (dates given as 1017 or 1056-1137) and Aghoraśiva (1100) for while he is definitely subsequent to the Nondualists and to Rāmānuja, he seems quite unaware of Aghoraśiva's revolutionary treatment of the Five Pure Principles.

The Reformer of the Siddhānta: Aghoraśiva

Aghoraśiva, also known as Parameśvara and Jñānaśiva, lived in the Cola country in South India, probably under Kulottuṅga I when the Cola empire was almost as extensive as in the days of its glory. He was a contemporary of Kamban, the greatest Tamil poet (*Emperor of Poetry* or *Kavicakravarti*), and Sekkilar,

1. Śrīkumāra, pp. 63-73.

the author of the *Great Cosmic History* (*Periyapurāṇam*). He belonged to the family of Kuṇḍini[1] and was a member of the Āmardaka order which, as we saw, was instrumental in spreading the Śaiva Siddhānta doctrine throughout India. He occupied the presidency of the Āmardaka monastery in Cidambaram where Śrīkaṇṭha, Dhyānaśiva, Hṛdayaśiva and Paramaśiva had been his predecessors.[2]

Aghoraśiva's learning and popularity earned him the title "The Teacher of Two Lakhs of Pupils" (*Lakṣadvayādhyāpaka*) which seems to have been given to the learned teachers of the Āmardaka order. As a philosopher and a theologian, Aghoraśiva followed the dualist thinkers such as Sadyojyoti, Bṛhaspati, Rāmakaṇṭha I, Śrīkaṇṭha, Nārāyaṇakaṇṭha, Rāmakaṇṭha II and Bhoja. Bhoja seems to have been a major influence on Aghoraśiva, since most of the selections from Aghora's *Illuminatrix of the Sequence of Acts* (*Kriyākramadyotikā*) reflect the themes on which Bhoja wrote profusely.

Aghora's major contribution to Śaiva Siddhānta came from the commentaries he wrote on the works of many of his academic predecessors in the Śaiva dualist tradition. They include brief and clear expositions on Nārāyaṇakaṇṭha's *Gloss on the Mṛgendra* (*Mṛgendravṛtti*), Sadyojyoti's *The Collection of Principles* (*Tattvasaṅgraha*) and, as we shall see, a commentary of Bhoja's work, *The Illumination of the Categories*. Through them, he transmitted the import of the Āgamas with the use of commonly used words and examples, often at the request of the Śaiva devotees of his time.[3] He defended the dualist interpretations of the Āgamas, often attacking the monists who "are ignorant of the Siddhānta teachings....."[4] Since all the above mentioned dualist thinkers are from Northern or Central India, Aghoraśiva seems to have been the system's pioneer in the South.

Aghoraśiva's Siddhānta is based mainly on two principles: first, that transformation is possible only in unconscious substances; and second, that whatever is composed is an effect and that the effect has an intelligent cause. From these principles he

1. Aghoraśiva, *Tattvatrayanirṇayavṛtti*, on v. 32, in *AP*, 1:3.
2. S. S. Śāstri, *Śrīkaṇṭha*, pp. 64-65.
3. *TPV* (Colophon), in *AP*, 1:1. For an extensive list of Aghora's works, see *infra*, Appendix 5.
4. *Ibid.*, Introduction, in *AP*, 1:1.

concludes that Śiva, the intelligent cause is different from the world or Bond which evolves and re-absorbs its evolutes or Categories into an independent material cause called Nucleus; and that Śiva is different from the soul or Beast, eternally endowed with the powers of omniscience and omnipotence. But these powers are inoperative, due to an eternal Pollution, which envelops the soul beginninglessly, until Śiva, through his grace, redeems the soul and makes it equal to Himself.[1]

On account of his dualism, especially of his teaching on the equality of the soul with Śiva, Aghora became the target of attack by the Tamilians, in particular by Śivāgrayogin and Śivajñānayogin. Yet, he influenced at least some of the Tamilians, such as Maraijñāna Deśikar and Jñānaprakāsar, whose commentaries on the classical treatise of the Tamilian Siddhānta, Meykaṇḍar's *The Understanding of Śiva Knowledge* (*Śivajñānabodham*) reflect Aghoraśiva's teachings on the liberated status of the soul.[2]

The Tamil Systematicians

Like all Siddhānta literature, Tamil systematics begins with the Āgamas. But while Sanskrit systematics derives directly from the latter, the Tamil originates both from the Sanskrit and from the devotional literature in its own tongue. It comes into existence at the time when the Sanskrit Siddhānta, in the person of the Tamilian Aghoraśiva, has resolved for itself the dilemma between remaining a dualism or becoming a full-fledged monism. Yet it is unable to shake off monism's allure, particularly that represented by the Śaiva Nondualist Śrīkaṇṭha, and seeks to reconcile itself to it by dualistically reinterpreting monism's key word *advaita*.

The Tamil Siddhānta also opts for Tamil as the main language of its theology. Sanskrit maintains its all-India hegemony until the twelfth century, and then gives way to the provincial Indo-Aryan languages under the double assault of Islam and the popular devotional movement, which demands expression in the

1. For a discussion of these two principles and Aghoraśiva's theology, see *infra*, Chapter III.

2. Devasenapathy, p. 8.

vernacular. But this is no novelty for Tamil, which has had a literature, and a devotional one, long before any modern Indo-Aryan tongue. What is new is the adoption of Tamil as the Siddhānta's chief theological language in the twelfth century—a move paralleled in the same century only by another Dravidian language, Kannaḍa, and only by another Śaiva denomination, Vīraśaivism.

Both these Śaiva denominations make the same move at once. The significance of this fact will be better understood when contrasted with the behavior of another chiefly Tamilian denomination, the Rāmānuja school. Its thinkers employ two theological languages, Sanskrit and Tamil (as do the Tamil Siddhāntins), but with Sanskrit as the principal and Tamil the subsidiary. The school's all-India character is thus maintained. The fact that two Śaiva denominations, the Siddhānta and Vīraśaivism, opted to restrict their ecumenical appeal was probably not a matter of their deliberate choice. The Muslim invasions annihilated Pastoralism and the other early sects of Śaivism, worked havoc with Triadism and hastened the disintegration of the all-India Siddhānta. Those of the latter's devotees who survived as Hindus came under the spell of the surging devotional movements of Vaiṣṇavism—the only Hindu religion which was successful in meeting the Muslim challenge. In such circumstances it was no doubt the adoption of the Kannaḍa and Tamil vernaculars that helped increase the vitality of Vīraśaivism and the Siddhānta respectively, and so insured their survival to our times.

The literature of the Tamil Siddhānta, as we pointed out earlier, belongs to four main classes—systematic exposition of doctrine, refutation of alien teachings, exposition of particular tenets, like those of grace and Pollution, and commentaries on the Āgamas.

The Systematization of the Devotionalist Siddhānta : Meykandar Deva

Tamil systematics is contained in a collection of fourteen works known as the *Disciplines of Meykandar* (*Meykaṇḍa Śāstras*).[1] The earliest of these works are Uyyavantha Devar the Teacher's the *Sacred Effort* (*Tiruvunthiār*, 1148) and Uyyavantha Devar

1. For a list of the 14 *Disciplines*, see *infra*, Appendix 4.

the Pupil's *Steps to Sacred Joy* (*Tirukkaḷirruppadiar*, 1518). These two works are unsystematic, mystical and esoteric, and constitute the first two treatises of the *Disciplines of Meykaṇḍar*.

The most important class was inaugurated by Meykandar in his *The Understanding of Śiva Knowledge* (*Śivajñānabodham*), the classical formulation of Tamil Siddhānta systematics.[1] It comprises twelve aphorisms, divided into four groups of three aphorisms each, the groups roughly corresponding to Bādarāyaṇa's fourfold Pattern in his great *The Aphorisms on the Brahman* (*Brahma-sūtras*), the masterwork of Hindu systematics—Order, Concord, Way and Fruit.[2] The synthetic nature of Meykandar's work is well explained in the following analogy: "the Veda is the cow; its milk is the true *āgama*: the Tamil sung by the four in *Devāram* and *Tiruvācagam* is the ghee extracted from it; and the virtue of the Tamil work of Meykandar of the celebrated (city of) Vennai is the fine taste of Ghee."[3]

The following is a summary of the twelve aphorisms of Meykandar's treatise:

1. Śiva, who causes the world's Dissolution, is its primal cause.
2. How the world is evolved again.
3. The existence of the soul.
4. The soul as distinct from any other part of the body.
5. God's first help to souls.
6. The real and non-real.
7. The soul as neither real nor non-real.
8. How the soul obtains knowledge.
9. How the soul is purified.

1. The traditional opinion is that this classic is based on a Sanskrit original, the *Rauravāgama*. However, the originality of the Sanskrit version has been questioned by some Tamil Śaiva Siddhānta scholars, such as, K. Subramania Pillai, on the grounds that there are differences in the two versions. There is also a reference to "Śivajñānabodham" in the twelfth aphorism of the Sanskrit version, the second half of which reads: Know thus the ascertainment of all topics connected with Śiva, from (this book) the "Śivajñānabodha." Jean Filliozat and Mariasoosai Dhavamony seem to be of the opinion that the 12 aphorisms are not from the *Rauravāgama*; see J. Filliozat, p. xiv, and M. Dhavamony, *Love of God in Śaiva Siddhānta* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971) p. 201.

2. Śivarāman, pp. 35-56.

3. Quoted in K. A. N. Śāstri, p. 382.

10. How the three-fold Pollution is removed.
11. How the soul reaches the sacred feet of Śiva.
12. How Śiva, invisible and unknowable, can be worshipped as visible and knowable.[1]

Elaboration of the Devotionalist Doctrines : Arulnandi and Umāpati

Meykandar's ideas were developed by Arulnandi (1253) in his *Proof of Śiva Knowledge* (*Śivajñānasiddhiyār*), a book with two sections, Proper Doctrines (*supakkam*) and Alien Doctrines (*parapakkam*).[2] While the former section deals with the exposition, the latter introduces the second topic referred to above, the refutation of teachings opposed to the Siddhānta, especially of those denominations belonging to the Outermost and Outer Groups. Arulnandi also wrote a special tract on Pollution.

Umāpati (1306), succeeding Arulnandi, developed these two topics in separate treatises. The exposition of doctrine he treated in his *The Light of Śiva* (*Śivapirakāśam*), where he elegantly reformulated the contents of Meykandar's and Arulnandi's now standard works. The refutation of alien teachings he dealt with in his *The Repudiation of Doubts* (*Saṅkalpanirākaraṇam*) where he completed what Arulnandi had begun, the refutation of the remaining denominations opposed to the Siddhānta (those

1. For a study of *Śivajñānabodham* see the following: Gordon Matthews, *Śiva-Ñāna-Bodham: A Manual of Śaiva Religious Doctrine*, James G. Forlong Fund, vol. 24 (Oxford: University Press, 1948); V. A. Kantimathinatha Pillai, *The Cult of Śiva or Lessons in Śivajñānabodham* (Madras: The South India Śaiva Siddhānta Works Publishing Society, 1961); H. R. Holsington, "Śiva Jñāna bodham," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 4 (1853-54):31-102.

2. *Siddhyār Aruvarurai* is the commentary on *Śivajñāna-Siddhyar*. There are six commentators: Nirambavalagiar (16th cent.), Maraijñāna Deśikar (16th cent.), Śivāgra Yogin (16th cent.), Jñānaprakāsar (c. 1580), Śivajñānayogin (c. 1700) and Subramanya Deśikar (1883). For a study of their works, see V. A. Devasenapathy, *Śaiva Siddhānta: As Expounded in the Śivajñāna-Siddhyar and Its Six Commentaries*, Madras University Philosophical Series, No. 7 (Madras: University of Madras, 1974).

Maraijñāna Deśikar says that Arulnandi based his *Parapakkam* on the following works: (i) Śaṅkara's *Sarva Darśana* (Siddhānta) *Saṅgraha*; (ii) *Sarvamatopanyāsa*; (iii) Rāmānanda's *Paramatanirākaraṇa*; (iv) Sarvātma Śambhu's *Siddhānta Dīpikā*; (v) Aghoraśiva's *Siddhānta Artha Samuccaya*. And the *Supakkam* on (i) *Śivajñānabodham*; (ii) its derivative consisting of *sūtras*: *cūrni* and *venbā*; and (iii) Śaiva Āgamas. Devasenapathy, p. 5.

belonging to the Inner Group) and so affirming the superiority of the Pure Nondualism.

Umāpati also developed the third topic, Grace, in four treatises, where he deals with the nature of grace, its fruits, its triumph over evil, its regulation of the world for the good of souls, and its beneficent intervention in all the stages of the soul's transmigratory career.[1] Umāpati moreover, wrote a commentary on the *Pauṣkara Āgama*, which exercises much influence, and also a popular anthology of the Āgamas, with comments, the *Collection of a Hundred Gems* (*Śataratnasaṅgraha*).[2]

Summation of Siddhānta Systematics: Śivāgrayogin and Śivajñānayogin

The systematics of the Siddhānta attained its completion in the sixteenth century with Śivāgrayogin and in the eighteenth century with Śivajñānayogin (+1785). Śivāgrayogin commented on Meykandar's treatise in his *The Exposition of Śivāgra* (or *The Foremost Exposition of Śiva, Śivāgrābhāṣyam*). He sought to appropriate as much of Śrīkaṇṭha's Nondualism as was consistent with the Siddhānta's metaphysics of Difference. He did not always agree with the earlier Tamil Siddhāntins, criticizing Umāpati's views (as expressed in the latter's Commentary on the *Pauṣkarāgama*) and Aghoraśiva's doctrine of Equality with Śiva. His other works include a *Small Commentary* (*Laghuṭīkā*) on Meykandar's book; two monographs, *The Lamp of Actions* (*Kriyādīpikā*) and *The Handbook of Śaiva Ascetics* (*Śaivasannyāsadīpikā*); translation from the Sanskrit into Tamil of some Āgamas and Āgamic anthologies; a commentary on Arulnandi's *The Proof of Śiva Knowledge*; and *The Impact of the Illumination of Śiva* (*Śivaneripirakāśam*).[3]

Śivajñānayogin wrote mainly in Tamil, and sought to reconcile the conflicting views of Meykandar's earlier commentators, in his own expositions on Meykandar, *The Little Commentary* (*Cirrurai*) and the *Great Dravidian Exposition* (*Drāviḍa Māpāḍiam*), the final

1. Sivaraman, pp. 36-37.

2. The following are added to Umāpati's Sanskrit works: (i) *Pātañjala Sūtra*—describes the festivals and worship at Cidambaram; (ii) *Naṭarājasahasranāma*; (iii) *Naṭarājadhvanimantrastava*; (iv) *Kuñcitāṅghristava*; (v) *Yantravidhānaṭīkā*; (vi-viii) Commentaries on *Śrī Rudram, Camakam, Vāyu Saṃhitā*; (ix-xvi) Eight other *Saṃhitās*. See P. Tirujñāna Sambandhan, pp. xiv-xv.

3. Devasenapathy, p. 10.

summa of Siddhānta thought.[1] After Śivajñānayogin, the Tamil Siddhānta moves into modern times, but to trace its subsequent literary career would take us far beyond the scope of this work.

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 12-13.

Chapter III

THE THEOLOGY OF AGHORAŚIVA

Introduction

The correlation of the transcendent and the phenomenal is widely discussed by Śaiva theologians. As I remarked in the Introduction, the trichotomous solution of Difference, Identity and Difference-in-Identity contains almost all the known theologies, including Aghoraśiva's Siddhānta.

This chapter is a study of Aghoraśiva's theology in the context of other major Indic theologies. Aghoraśiva's doctrine is radically different from some of these theologies, like the Nondualist Vedānta, whose thinkers postulate a unique ultimate reality, the undifferentiated Brahman, substrate of a superposed illusion, the world. Their ontology does not allow any reality outside the undifferentiated Absolute. Then there are theologians, within the fold of Śaivism, such as Śrīkumāra, Śrīkaṇṭha, and Śivāgrayogin, who use a Difference-in-Identity model and view reality as bipolar. They bridge the changeless absolute and the changing phenomenal world by means of emanations. At the same time they unanimously reject, though not always consistently, the doctrine of Transmogrification propounded by the Nondualist Vedāntins.

The shared issue between Aghoraśiva and these Śaiva theologians is the preservation of the transcendent from the taint of the phenomenal. However, Śrīkumāra's conception of emanation within Śiva frustrates the very purpose for which these emanations take place—the plunge of the transcendent into the phenomenal. To maintain the integrity of transcendence, Aghoraśiva borrows the Sāṅkhya model of Difference, and strictly reinforces its principle that *self-differentiation is possible only in unconscious substances and not in the conscious* (*Śiva*). He also adopts the Logicist theory that whatever is composed is an effect, and that the effect has an intelligent cause which does not in any way share its characteristics. Thus, having demonstrated the untransformable transcendence of the Conscious by Sāṅkhya principles, and

having subjected inconscient Matter to the causality of God through Logicist principles, Aghoraśiva goes on to assert his own position of the inner duality of the Supreme Śiva, the Godhead—known in its absolute aspect as Energizer and in its relative one as Energy.

All the divine activities are for the sake of the conscious beings—the Beasts—whose powers are eternally engulfed by the Infinitesimal Pollution. When liberated from it, they reach a state equal to Śiva's and forever enjoy their own powers. We shall examine these points in the following pages.

Monist Models

Identity: Transmogrification

The theology of Identity is dominated by the grand insight of the ultimacy of the Self. To make this insight possible, it employs a complex dialectic which dispels all notion of Difference. And to resolve the problem of Difference, Nondualism makes use of Buddhist epistemological distinctions, as between the *two levels of truth*, the absolute and the relative, proposed by the Vacuists or Mediatists (Mādhyamikas); or between the *three levels*, absolute, pragmatic, and illusory, advanced by the Idealists (Vijñānavādins). Difference is said to belong to the lower level or levels, and Identity to the higher.

Gauḍapāda (ca. 640-690), the founder of the Nondualist schools, professed to see this doctrine in one of the Hindu texts of Revelation, the *Māṇḍūkya Upaniṣad*. His follower, Śaṅkara (first half of the eighth century), made an attempt to elicit the same doctrine from the *Aphorisms on the Brahman* (*Brahmasūtra*) of Bādarāyaṇa.

The metaphysics for the doctrine of the ultimacy of the Self was borrowed from the Sāṅkhya's Spirit-Matter polarity. Spirit was reduced to a unique being, the Brahman, and the very real Sāṅkhya Matter was transformed into a sort of phantom, for it was affirmed to be neither being nor non-being. Hence the basic categories of Identity theology are the Self and the non-Self, the latter is superposed on the former, giving rise to an illusory multiplicity, caused, as it seems, by the transformation of the Self.

For most Nondualists, however, this transformation—contrary

to what the non-idealist Difference-in-Identity theologians unanimously affirm—is not real, but only illusory; hence what we may with more propriety call a Transmogrification. In fact, causality itself is not more than an appearance. In the words of the Nondualist Vedāntin, Prakāśātman (975):

> Some hold that the Brahman Himself is transformed into the shape of the world, as clay into the shape of a pot. The Teacher Padmapāda rejects this theory in the words "The world is [the Brahman] transmogrified." Transmogrification is the appearance, in multiple and unreal forms, diverse from the primordial one, of a being that has not lapsed from its nature.[1]

The notion of Transmogrification can be criticized in at least three ways: through inference, Scripture and experience.[2] If the world is unreal, the *inference* runs, a relation between the real and the illusory itself becomes false. As for Scripture, some of its passages speak of the world's nothingness without the Brahman; but others declare the reality of the world. Hence, for a proper understanding of Scripture, both kinds of texts should be taken into account. In *experience*, too, the Vedānta concept of the world is untenable, for, as Śrīkumāra notes, our senses as well as our reason cannot justify that the world is unreal.[3] Aghoraśiva also considers Transmogrification illogical, "because the world, established by all norms, is not unreal, but would be if it were [consciousness] transmogrified."[4]

Difference-in-Identity: Transformation

The model of Difference-in-Identity is followed by many Śaiva thinkers for whom the problem, in specific terms, isw hether Śiva is only the efficient cause, or both the efficient and material cause of the world. But if, following Difference, we assert that He is only the efficient cause, what then is the material cause of

1. Prakāśātman, *Exposition of "The Five Chapters" of Padmapāda* (*Pañcapādikāvivaraṇam*). Selection on "The Transmogrification of the Brahman," translated in Pereira, pp. 201-206.

2. Śivarāman, p. 121.

3. Śrīkumāra, pp. 63-64. Śrīkumāra defends at length that the content of error is not illusory.

4. *TPV*, 25.

the world? We shall examine this problem as discussed by three Śaiva monists: Śrīkumāra, Śrīkaṇṭha, and Śivāgrayogin. But before we proceed to do that, we might ask ourselves why the relationship of the world's material and final causes—in particular their identity or difference—presented such a problem. The answer can only be that the *Upaniṣads*, so fundamental in the development of Hindu thought, unhesitatingly pronounced the relationship to be one of Identity, in Difference.

The Vedic Revelation, which the Śaiva monists accept as being in harmony with their Āgamas, contains the following statements about the Brahman and the world, among others: "Creative power is nature, and He who possesses it is the mighty Lord."[1] "That *from which* (all) beings are born, *by which* once born, they live, *into which* they enter when they die,.....that is Brahman."[2] These statements are explicated by analogies. The *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* says: "From a blazing fire sparks similar in nature issue forth in thousands; similarly, many kinds of beings issue forth from the immutable and they return thither."[3] And the *Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad*: "As a spider emits and reabsorbs (its threads).....as plants grow upon the earth.....as hair (grows) on the body and head of a living man.....so does everything on earth arise from (this) Imperishable."[4]

The question which concerns the generality of the Siddhānta thinkers is, do these scriptural references and analogies suggest the identity of Śiva and the world? Does the expression "He desired: may I become many?" (*Chand. Up.* 4.2.3.)[5] echoed in all of the above references, imply that Śiva is at once the world's material and efficient cause?

Let us first take Śrīkumāra, the most important for our purpose, of our three theologians. That "everything is Rudra" appears to be his basic conviction. In his *The Lamp of Meaning* (*Tātparyadīpikā*), he argues that Master, Beast and Bond are ultimately one. Proof of this tenet are the Upaniṣadic expressions "All is Brahman" and "one who sees this (i.e., being is Self), does not see pain, illness or death. One who sees this, sees every-

1. *Śvet. Up.* 4.10. Translations are from R. C. Zaehner, *Hindu Scriptures* (London: J. M. Dent & Sons Ltd., 1966).
2. *Tait. Up.* 3.1.1-6.
3. *Bṛh. Up.* 4.1.20.
4. *Muṇḍ. Up.* 1.1.7.

thing, and obtains everything everywhere" (*Chānd. Up.* 7.26.2; 6.1.4). The following analogy confirms the above pronouncements: "From a lump of earth, the one earth is known; from one artefact of gold, all gold is known. Even so, there is one Rudra in many states" (*Chānd. Up.* 1.6.6).

For Śrīkumāra, Scriptural authority takes precedence over logic or experience, the two other norms of knowledge. He asserts this in answer to the objection that the thesis of the unity of reality is contradicted by experience. Śrīkumāra answers that "Revelation is a more potent means to the knowledge of truth than experience. Experience is feeble; Revelation is a more compelling authority."[1] Following the Ritualists, Śrīkumāra calls the Vedas infallible, since defect or flaw is not innate to the Word they embody. Scriptural testimony therefore overrides the feebler one of experience.[2] Revelation declares that Śiva is one (*advitīya*),[3] that he is the essence of everything,[4] and asserts

1. Śrīkumāra, p. 3. Śrīkumāra here echoes the thought of Pārthasārathi Miśra who, commenting on the validity of knowledge, says: "Given therefore that invalidity, dependent as it is on the speaker's faults, derives from the words of unreliable people (as we Contrarists maintain), and since defects of this kind are absent in the Vedas, it follows that the latter are valid absolutely." *Śāstradīpikā*. Cited in Pereira, p. 104.

The Ritualist (*Mīmāṃsaka*) theologians like Kumārila Bhaṭṭa and Śabara, on whose thought Miśra's views are based, contend that Knowledge—among whose modes are Experience and Word—is intrinsically valid, all doubtfulness in it deriving from accidental circumstances. The innate validity of the Word is occluded when it is dependent on human wills for its expression, the wills of creatures capable of deceiving and being deceived. If the Word can be dissociated from personal factors, say the Ritualists, its innate validity will shine unobstructedly. This happens in the case of Vedas. Of these most carefully preserved and studied of all texts, no memory of author survives in any tradition. They are therefore impersonally originant, meaningful, sound, expressive of transcendent things, and existent from eternity.

2. Śrīkumāra, p. 3. Rāmānuja has a similar understanding of Scripture. Commenting on his thought, John B. Chethimattam says: "Scripture is the proper source of knowledge....Individual reasoning can be defective and fallible and may be refuted by someone more clever in logic....What Scripture reveals to us is....totally different from whatever is cognized by other means of knowledge." Chethimattam, *Consciousness and Reality* (New York: Orbis Books, 1971), pp. 56-57.

3. "sarvo vai rudraḥ, puruṣo vai rudraḥ sarvo hyeṣa rudraḥ." Śrīkumāra, p. 4.

4. "rudrasya sarvātmakatvam...." *Ibid.*, p. 5.

the salvific fruitfulness of the knowledge of the oneness of Śiva and the soul.[1] In this manner, Śrīkumāra buttresses the Āgamas with the Vedas.[2]

Śrīkumāra goes on to discuss the problem of materiality as affecting Śiva. He says: "from the *Śvetāśvatara* we gather Rudra's omni-essentiality."[3] Anticipating, as it were, one of Śaiva dualists' chief objections that such a Lord would be inconscient, Śrīkumāra exclaims: "Not so, because Revelation affirms His conscient nature."[4] The traditional texts, too, speak of everything possessing the essence of Rudra through the work of the Embodier-Body relationship.[5]

The co-existence of the unique Brahman with finite beings, some of which are unconscious, is a problem which was dealt with by thinkers before Śrīkumāra's time. For instance, Rāmānuja adapting the Ancient Vedānta[6] elaborated by Bodhāyana, the chief interpreter of Bādarāyaṇa's thought, used the concepts of body (*śarīra*) and embodier (*śarīrin*) or attribute and subject to explain such a co-existence. In his *Exposition on the Aphorisms on the Brahman*, Rāmānuja indicates his understanding of the concept of attribute (exemplified in blueness) and subject (in lotus):

> There is no contradiction between a thing being blue and its being a lotus; not any more than there is between a man [carrying a stick] and the stick itself .....or than there is

1. "śivātmaikatvajñānasya phalaśravaṇāt...." *Ibid.*, p. 5.

2. Śrīkumāra's view finds a parallel in Bhāskara's thought: "In the begining, my dear boy, there was only this one being, with no second (*Chānd. Up.* 2.1). Everything is therefore innately one and manifold, neither wholly indivisible nor wholly divisible...." Referring to the word 'this' in the above text, Bhāskara comments: "The word 'this' indicates the effect's existence in causal form at the time of the world's dissolution." See selections from the *Commentary on the "Aphorisms on the Brahman"* in Pereira, pp. 261-64.

3. Śvetāśvatarācca sarvaprādhānyam bhagavato maheśvarasya rudrasyāvagamyate." Śrīkumāra, p. 6.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 6.

5. "ityādismṛteśca śarīraśarīrirūpatayā sarvasya rudrātmakatvāvagamāt.." *Ibid.*, p. 71.

6. For a study of the Ancient Masters of Vedānta and their works which are extant only in fragments, see Pereira, pp. 239-59.

between the colour, taste, smell, etc., of the same thing. (1.3.13)[1]

In the same *Exposition* Rāmānuja explains his theory of embodier and body:

> Embodied as the mass of all conscious and unconscious beings that subserves His cosmic play, He becomes the soul of that body. Then (at dissolution)—through the successive regression of Matter's evolutes, the Elements, Egoism and Instinct (into Prime Matter itself)—the universe that has become His body survives as an unconscious substance extremely subtle, known as Darkness. With this body of Darkness, now arrived at a state of subtlety so extreme that it can hardly be called different, the Supreme Brahman attains a condition of oneness. (Later, at the time of creation) He conceives the thought "Let me become the world-body, composed of conscious and unconscious beings, differentiated, as previously, in conceptual and corporeal fashion"—and then transforms Himself, in His world-body, through entering one evolute after another. This is the doctrine of transformation in all the *Upaniṣads*.[2]

For Śrīkumāra, as for Rāmānuja, Śiva is both the efficient and material cause of the world.[3] As Embodier, the Supreme Lord is the efficient cause, and as Body—the *māyā śarīra*—He is the material cause.[4] This conclusion is reinforced by the Upaniṣadic text: "Where these beings originate from; in which once originated, they live; into which, on dying, they dissolve—try to know it, it is Brahman."[5]

1. George Thibaut, *The Vedānta Sūtras of Bādarāyaṇa* with *the Commentary of Śaṅkara*, The Sacred Books of the East Series, Vol. 34 (New York : Dover Publications, 1962) p. 221.

2. Commentary on Aphorism 1.4.27, in Pereira, p. 287.

3. "jagatāmekaḥ kartā ca bījamupādānam ceti jagadekabījam nimittopādānabhūta iti yāvat." Śrīkumāra, p. 9.

4. "ityādismṛteśca tasya [śivasya] nimittabhāvo'vagamya iti māyāśarīrasya parameśvarasya jagannimittatva-upādānatve sambhavata iti na vikāritvādiprasaṅgaḥ. *Ibid.*

5. *Tait. Up.* 3.1.1. Bādarāyaṇa's aphorism: "Where the world's states of creation, maintenance and dissolution are from—that is Brahman."

The distinction between the Embodier and the Body further leads Śrīkumāra to observe that the Ultimate Reality, though sexless, is best understood through a symbolic sexual differentiation. The Embodier consists of the Energizer (*śaktimat*) and Energy (*śakti*). Energy, the Great Goddess, is the beloved of Energizer, the Great God. He bestows grace on the creatures through Her, since there is no grace without the Goddess. She is, besides, the Mother of the world.[1] There is an identity in difference between God and Goddess; as the *Śaiva Mystery* says: "Unity of being belongs to Śiva and His Energy, as in a gem and its glow."[2]

An important point in Śrīkumāra's teaching of the oneness of the Ultimate Reality is that there is a threefold distinction within it, formed of the Triad of Categories. Supreme knowledge can only be the knowledge of this coincidence of Difference in Identity. But why must we suppose this Triad to exist? Śrīkumāra replies that if Beast (*paśu*), that is, the soul in transmigration (*saṃsāra*), were not accepted, transmigration itself, characterized by the polarities of good and evil, birth and death, pleasure and pain would lack a subject; so would its cessation. Moreover, the content of Revelation, Tradition, the Epics and the Purāṇas would be devoid of object. The Bond (*pāśa*) is the source of transmigration, and is constituted by factors such as Pollution, Karma, the Mirific Power and bodies. Were all these to be non-existent, there would be no sojourn in heaven nor hell, neither would there be birth or death. The inactive soul by itself could not be the cause of such activities.[3] Similarly if Master were not to exist there would be no question of creation, preservation or destruction; of law or lawlessness; or of bondage and liberation. The souls, lacking as they do omniscience and bodies, would be incapable of all this. Hence, concludes Śrīkumāra, the postulation of the Triad of Categories is unavoidable in all doctrines.[4]

1. Śrīkumāra, pp. 13 and 17.
2. "śaktiśivau vastvaikyam maṇiprabhāvad yato yuktam." Quoted by Śrīkumāra, p. 18.
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 24-25.
4. *Ibid.* Bhāskara's position helps us to understand Śrīkumāra's Difference-in-Identity theology. In his *Brahmasūtrabhāṣyam* on 2.1.18, Bhāskara says: "Experience is the criterion for deciding about the condition of Difference and Identity. Those who apply this criterion perceive the difference and identity of cause and effect. And Difference is an attribute of Identity. Identity

This Triad becomes differentiated from the one reality through limiters. As the *Śaiva Mystery*, in words recalling the ideas of Vallabha,[1] declares:

> All of Śiva's essential attributes shine in their fullness in the Master. Only some do in the Bond; and all are concealed in the Beast.[2]

Śrīkumāra's attempt to reduce the Siddhānta categories of Master, Beast and Bond to an ultimate unitary principle was rejected by the Śaiva theologians, dualist or monist, who followed him. But where Śrīkumāra failed, Śrīkaṇṭha succeeded.

Śrīkaṇṭha's philosophy can be defined trichotomously or causally. Trichotomously it is a variety of the Difference-in-Identity model, known as Śaiva Nondualism (*śivādvaita*), itself patterned on Rāmānuja's Qualified Monism (*viśiṣṭādvaita*). Causally it is a variety of Transformationism (*pariṇāmavāda*), and is termed the Incomparable Transformationism (*apūrva-pariṇāmavāda*) just as Vallabha's version of the doctrine, for instance, is named the Untransforming Transformationism (*avikṛtapariṇāmavāda*).

exists as the mighty sea; the selfsame existing in the form of the waves is called Difference. Waves are not seen in rocks, for they are the powers of the sea. Between the powers and their possessors both identity and difference are observed: differentiations in the fire, for instance, are its powers of burning and shining; differentiations in the wind are the modes of breathing."

1. Vallabha's theology has the following principles: 1. Difference-in-Identity. He interprets it to mean that greatness consists in being a substrate of contrary attributes, and greatness is God's attribute. 2. Manifestation and non-manifestation. God manifesting Himself is existence, not manifesting Himself is non-existence. He is unmodifiable in essence, but all that exists has Him as its material cause. So what appears to be a modification of the divine substance is only the same substance diversely *manifested*. 3. The definition of God accepted by the Vedāntic schools—being, consciousness and joy. These aspects are capable of manifestation and non-manifestation (or concealment). When they are all manifested, we have God as the Inner Controller; when joy is concealed, we have the conscious beings or souls; when the consciousness is concealed, we have the insentient beings; and when being is concealed, we have non-existence.

2. "patyau śivasvabhāvāḥ sarvā sarvātmanā prakāśante; kecana pāśeṣu Paśuṣu cāntardadhate niravaśeṣam." Śrīkumāra, p. 25.

In Śrīkaṇṭha's version of Qualified Monism Śiva, the substance (*viśeṣya*), is inseparably qualified (*viśiṣṭa*) by His attribute (*viśeṣaṇa*), the material cause. As the soul is born with the body and dies with it, Spirit, the efficient cause, remains immutable, while the Mirific Power, the material cause, undergoes change.[1] As from the state of childhood a person passes over into youth, the Brahman passes from causal form into that of effect. The *Śvetāśvatara* says: "Know the Mirific Power to be the material cause, and the Supreme Lord as the wielder of that Power."[2] But as the Mirific Power is not distinct from the Supreme Lord, the world's material cause is that Lord Himself.[3]

Śrīkaṇṭha does not identify Śiva and the world, at least, not in the same sense; he asserts them to be simultaneously present, different though they are in quality of existence, the one being conscious, and the other not. "It is not possible for hair, nails etc.," Śrīkaṇṭha argues:

> to grow from the body alone, in the absence of the soul, though they have nothing in common with the soul. Even if a non-intelligent effect be conceived as identical with a non-intelligent cause, the presence of intelligence is necessary to bring about the transformation of the one into the other. This observed fact co-operating with *Śruti* establishes firmly the doctrine that the Brahman is the cause of the world.[4]

The distinction between qualified and quality is causally justified by Śrīkaṇṭha's Incomparable Transformationism, where Śiva, the unchanging, is qualified by the transforming Mirific Power or Intelligential Energy (*citśakti*). As the change is said to occur only in the latter, Śiva Himself never becomes subject to the limitations of the world. Appaya Dīkṣita (c. 1520-1592), Śrīkaṇṭha's chief expositor, but himself a Nondualist, finds the theory unsatisfactory.[5] For when the world evolves from the

1. Śrīkaṇṭha, *Brahmasūtrabhāṣyam* on 1.4.27, cited in S. S. Śāstri, *Śrīkaṇṭha*, p. 159.
2. *Śvet. Up.* 4.10.
3. Śrīkaṇṭha, *Brahmasūtrabhāṣyam* on 1.2.9, cited in Pereira, p. 392.
4. Ibid., on 1.4.27, quoted by S. S. Śāstri, *Śrīkaṇṭha*, p. 162.
5. "So, too, through the acceptance of non-difference from Brahman of *Cit-Śakti* which is of the form of the entire universe, it follows of the world of

Mirific Power, reasons Appaya, the latter either remains *unchanged*—in which case the evolution is only illusory, hence a Transmogrification (the Nondualist doctrine); or else it *changes*, thus undergoing a genuine Transformation—in which case the Brahman will have to change too, wholly identical as It is with the evidently changing Mirific Power.

We now come to Śivāgrayogin, who endeavored to give a monist image to a dualist Siddhānta. With his own conception of Change (*vṛtti*), he attempted to reconcile the Scriptural texts which speak of Śiva as the material cause and those which refer to Him as unchanging.[1]

There are at least four ways of viewing the concept of change—origination (*ārambha*), as when threads change into a cloth; transformation (*pariṇāma*), as when milk changes into curd, the properties of the two not being identical; combination (*samudāya*), as when grains are amassed in a heap; and change of state (*avasthā-viśeṣa*,) as when a rolled cloth is unfolded into a tent. Śivāgrayogin follows the last interpretation in relation to change (*vṛtti*) affecting Śiva as the cause. Thus, he speaks of Śiva's exteriorization and retraction as He undergoes these changes of states.[2]

Both Śiva and the Matter He controls are material causes of the world, their joint effect—Śiva in the desire[3] to manifest His qualities, and Matter, insofar as the physical transformation of its inconscient substance is concerned. But as Śiva is Matter's controller, He excels in the aspect of efficient causality. Smoke, to take an example, is an effect conjointly produced by wet fuel and fire, but it assimilates only the dark pigmentation of the fuel, not the luminous quality of the fire. Similarly the world, jointly

ether etc., that it is an illusory manifestation of that (*Cit-Śakti*). Or else, if it be admitted of the fleeting (world of) ether etc., that it is a transformation (of *Cit-Śakti*), there would result a contradiction of the unchanging nature of Brahman, who is non-different therefrom (i.e., from *Cit-Śakti*)." S. S. Sūryanārāyaṇa Śāstri, ed. and trans., *The Śivādvaita Nirṇaya of Appaya Dīkṣita* (Madras: University of Madras, 1974), pp. 53 and 77.

1. Śivāgrayogin, *Śivāgrabhāṣya*, pp. 170-73, cited in Śivarāman, p. 480.
2. Śivarāman, pp. 117-18.
3. This is a concept employed earlier by Bhoja and developed by the dualist Aghoraśiva: "Subsisting in it (Nucleus) all the Energies—as Will (Knowledge and Action) —accomplish their activities." *TP*, 26.

produced from the material causes, Śiva and Matter, does not possess the conscious and blissful essence of the former, but only the inertness, illuminability and changeable nature of the latter. It cannot be argued that the fire is no more than the smoke's efficient cause, its sole material cause being the wet fuel, because smoke participates in the quality of heat which derives only from the fire.[1]

As will have been noticed, all this ingenious reasoning does not identify fire with fuel or Śiva with Matter. The Siddhānta thus continues to be a doctrine of Difference, as Aghoraśiva wished to be. Śivāgrayogin also seems to respect the principle Aghora employed to ensure that the Siddhānta would remain dualist—that change can take place only in the unconscious. Yet some sort of change—apparent or real—occurs in Śiva too. If it is only apparent, Śiva's unchangeability will have been preserved, but this material causality will have been rejected. If it is real, He will have earned His title to material cause, but will have ceased to be the Siddhānta's changeless Master. The example of fire and fuel seems to be irrelevant, for they share the same inconscient nature. What is at issue here is whether a changeless conscious substance can combine with a changing inconscient one to produce an inconscient effect.

Dualist Models

Sāṅkhya

The Sāṅkhya system is commonly accepted as the first rationalistic synthesis of ideas deriving from the Upaniṣads. Some of

1. "evam ca patipadārthaśivasya tadadhiṣṭhitamāyāyāśca kāryabhūtaprapañcasya svadharma-sattvasphūrtipriyādirūpatayā jaḍavikārādirūpatayā cobhayorupādānatvaṃ / śivasya tu māyāyā adhiṣṭhātṛtayā nimittatvamadhikamiti viśeṣaḥ / yathā dhūmalakṣaṇe kārye ārdrendhanavahnyorubhayorupādānatve'pi dhūmakārye kāṣṭhadharmakṛṣṇarūpameva; na tu vahnidharmabhāsvararūpam; tathā prapañcasya śivamāyobhayopādānatve-'pi na cidānandarūpatvam; kiṁ tu jaḍamāyādharmaprakāśyatvavikāritvarūpamiti / tatra ca vahneriva śivasya nimittatvamiti na tadutkṛṣṭadharmavattvam na ca vahnirapi dhūme nimittamātram, na tūpādānamiti vācyam; anyasyopādānasyābhāvena paramāṇu-prakriyāyāśca parākariṣyamāṇatvena vahnīndhanayorevopādānatvāt / na ca kāṣṭhamevopādānam vahnistu nimittamātramiti vaktum śakyam / vahnidharmabhūtauṣṇyāderapyupalabhya-

the more basic ones are that the Self (*ātman*) is at once the immutable reality and the source of the sentient and insentient beings. The unitary reality was divided by the Sāṅkhya thinkers into the unchanging, conscious and static Spirit (*puruṣa*) and the changing, unconscious and active Matter (*prakṛti*). The principle for this division was that what transforms cannot be conscious, and what is conscious cannot transform.[1] Consequently, since there was nothing inherently common between Spirit and Matter, they were regarded as the two ultimate categories of existence.

The Sāṅkhya's central teaching is set forth in the first three verses of Īśvarakṛṣṇa's *Explicative Verses on Sāṅkhya* (*Sāṅkhya-Kārikā*).[2]

1. Assailed as we are by the triple sorrow (internal, external and superhuman), we desire to know if the means exist to counteract it. 'Is this desire not futile, since we see that such means exist?' No, those means are neither guaranteed nor absolute.

Note: Human existence in the world is characterized by suffering brought about by factors relating to the physical or mental make-up of man himself, by factors coming from man's natural environment, and by factors coming from the forces of nature or the gods.

mānatvena grāhakataulyāt / tasmānmāyāviśiṣṭeśvarasya nimittatvamupādānatvam ca siddham." Śivāgrayogin, *Śaivaparibhāṣā*, edited by H. R. Rangaswamy and R. Ramana Śāstri. Oriental Research Institute Publications, Sanskrit Series, No. 90 (Mysore : Government Press, 1950), p. 40.

1. T. R. V. Murti, "Rise of the Philosophical Schools," in *The Cultural Heritage of India*, ed. Haridass Bhattacharyya, 2nd ed. 3 vols. (Calcutta: The Rāmakriṣṇa Mission Institute of Calcutta, 1953), 3-35.

2. Īśvarakṛṣṇa, *Sāṅkhya-Kārikā*, ed. with commentary of Gauḍapāda and trans. T. G. Mainkar (Poona: Oriental Book Agency, 1972). See selections in Pereira, pp. 56-76. For other valuable studies, see Gerald James Larson, *Classical Sāṅkhya* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1969); Arthur B. Keith, *The Sāṅkhya System* (Calcutta: YMCA Publishing House, 1949); S. S. Suryanarayana Śāstri, ed. and trans., *The Sāṅkhya-Kārikā of Īśvarakṛṣṇa* (Madras: University of Madras, 1948). The references to *Saṅkhya-Kārikā*, indicated as *Verse(s)* and followed by the corresponding number, are to selections in Pereira, pp. 56-64.

2. The means set forth in Revelation are like the obvious ones—impure, perishable and open to improvement. Another and more excellent means is the knowledge of the Evolved, the Unevolved and the Knower (or Spirit).

Note: This suffering cannot be effectively removed except through discriminative knowledge (*vijñāna*); specifically, by knowledge of the following: 1. the Unevolved (*avyakta*)—i.e., "Primal Nature" or "Primal Matter" (*mūla-prakṛti*)—which is eternal and uncreated. 2. Evolved (*vyakta*)—i.e., manifest world arising out of Matter. 3. Spirit, the Knower is neither matter nor a transforming principle.

3. Prime Matter (the Unevolved) is not a transformation. The seven [evolutes], of which the Prodigious is the first [the others being Egoism and the Five Subtle Elements], are both transformed and transforming. The sixteen (the Five Gross Elements and the Eleven Faculties) are transformations only. Spirit is neither Matter nor a transformation (vv. 1-3).

Note: the "seven," the "sixteen," and the Unevolved are the twenty-four categories. Over against these stand Spirit (*puruṣa*) unconnected in any way with the twenty-four. All together, there are twenty-five categories in the Sāṅkhya system.

There are two fundamental tenets in the Sāṅkhya system which Aghora uses in his exposition of the categories: the first is the pre-existence of the effect (*satkāryavāda*); the second, the three Attributes of Matter —Brightness (*sattva*), Passion (*rajas*) and Darkness (*tamas*)—existing in a state of equilibrium prior to their manifestation in the evolutes (vv.9, 11-14).

The theory of the pre-existence of the effect asserts that the effect exists wholly in the cause, being only its transformation or a manifestation. In the words of Īśvarakṛṣṇa:

Nothing can be produced if non-existent; an effect is related to its cause; not everything conceivable is possible; a cause only produces something it is capable of producing; a cause is in essence the effect. For these reasons, an effect is existent [in its cause] (v.9).

In relation to the Attributes of Matter, Matter has two aspects, unmanifest and manifest; the former is uncaused, infinite, inactive and one; the latter is the opposite of these (vv. 10-11). For a determinate period these Attributes are continually in tension; the world evolves by their mutual interaction, the process of transformation being determined by the dominance of any one over the other two (vv. 12-13).

> Īśvarakṛṣṇa explains the relation between Matter and Spirit: Thus from the connection (proximity) of Matter and Spirit, the evolutes appear as though conscious; and Spirit, innately indifferent, appears as an agent through the Attributes' activity (v.20).

There are two features which seem prominent in this relation—the causal efficiency of unconscious Matter, and the consciousness of the Spirit which renders a reflexive impetus to Matter (which consequently transforms from an unmanifest to a manifest state). The evolutes of the latter, in turn, serve Spirit's liberation (*kaivalya*), and then revert to their causal state.

The causal efficiency of unconscious Matter is explained through several examples. As the flow of milk from the udder of a cow nourishes the calf, so the unconscious material evolutes serve the liberation of Spirit (v.57). Or, as a magnet draws the iron-filings to itself without a conscious agent's help, so the evolutes can function without an external agent.[1] For the interaction between Matter and Spirit, the example given is that of a blind and a lame man, each making up for what is wanting in the other. So the Spirit is able to see its goal, and Matter, to lead the Spirit to its goal (v.21).

The goal of the Sāṅkhya is the elimination of suffering. The world is an instrument helping Spirit attain discrimination, or salvific knowledge. But the man who possesses this "knowledge" nevertheless continues in the manifest world, because the latent impressions (*saṃskāras*) from previous experiences maintain his existence in the world until death, when he definitively attains Isolation (*Kaivalya*) (vv.67-68).

We have seen that in the Sāṅkhya the Three Attributes exist

1. S. S. Śāstri, *The Sāṅkhya-Kārikā*, p. xii.

in a state of repose or equilibrium in the presence of an inactive Spirit. For the process of the emergence of evolutes to begin, this equilibrium has to be disturbed, for only then can the constituents interact. According to the Sāṅkhya's critics, this disturbance cannot be caused by Matter itself, for it is in a state of repose. Neither can the mere presence of the Spirit cause an agitation,[1] for Spirit is inactive. It must therefore be their mutual interaction or interrelation, but their bondage would arise again even when the Spirit is released, as there would be nothing to stop the interaction from reoccurring. This would result in an endless cycle of bondage and release.

If the process has somehow started, Matter, which is unconscious, cannot be said to have a purpose; the examples which we have viewed above do not show how it does. An unconscious (dead) cow does not nourish a calf. A magnet, too, unless placed near the iron-filings by an intelligent agent, does not draw anything by itself. The analogy of the blind man and the lame man is not applicable because each has a definite purpose, and so controls and leads the other towards the common goal. Thus, at best, Matter can account only for some movement, and not for an orderly process whose purpose is to liberate the Spirit.

From the point of view of Spirit, the doctrine of discriminative knowledge between itself and Matter implies a movement from a state of bondage, through the experience of the world, to a state of release or Isolation. If Spirit is inactive, or without any powers of its own, it is difficult to understand how such a change could take place within itself.

The above criticism demonstrates the need for an intelligent control of Spirit and Matter. As Aghoraśiva says: "Since the Sāṅkhyas conclude that the Attributes themselves constitute Matter, we, in order to invalidate their position, argue that as these Attributes are inconscient and manifold—as objects like pots are—there is need for another cause (that is the Attributes' foundation)."[2] Thus any change can occur only through the control of a causal agent, who is distinguished both from Spirit

1. Dasgupta views the constituents as "intelligence-stuff" and says that the Spirit by its presence "intelligizes" the unconscious Matter. See Dasgupta, 5:240-44.

2. *TPV* 24, See *infra*, Chapter IV.

and Matter, and who remains himself unchanged. Such is the solution proposed by Aghoraśiva. In his view, the bound souls' association with the Infinitesimal Pollution (*āṇavamala*) obscures the natural powers of the soul, making them inoperative; but when the Pollution reaches maturity, Śiva awakens the soul to the spiritual reality and enlightenment. Through the association with Matter, the soul experiences the fruits of all its karma and gains the full use of its powers.[1]

Nyāya or logicism : Argument for God's Existence

Logicism, which proclaims salvation through clear reasoning, postulates a personally originant Revelation, with God as its author. To prove His existence it employs a complex instrument of reasoning, the Nyāya syllogism. With its aid, Logicism's greatest theologian, Udayana (975-1050) defended the doctrine of Difference and the existence of God, against his major foes, the Buddhists. As will be noticed, Aghoraśiva employs one of Udayana's arguments for God's existence—that of proving the cause from the effect.

However, this argument can be demonstrative only if the difference of effect and cause is not called into question; and any doubts on the matter cannot be resolved if the validity of the concept of Difference is itself disputed, as it was by the Buddhists. Udayana therefore engages in the defense of Difference against the Buddhists, who argued that Difference is not (a) an object's essence, (b) the reciprocal negation that exists between objects, or (c) a *distinct attribute* inherent in the object itself. In reply, Udayana queries:

> Are you meaning to imply that (1) the knowledge of Difference is non-existent; (2) if existent, is eternal; (3) if transient, is causeless; (4) if caused, is objectless; (5) if with object, then with an object capable of invalidation ?[2]

Then he dismisses the first four alternatives summarily, examines the fifth, and so vindicates Difference:

1. See *infra*, pp. 111ff, "Aghora's Doctrine of Liberation."
2. Udayana, *Ātmatattvaviveka*, *pariccheda* 2, *prakaraṇa* 4, in Pereira, p. 113.

What then is the truth about Difference? Its three meanings [essence, reciprocal negation and distinct attribute], but in different aspects..... [If we now go on to correlate the three kinds of Difference with the seven categories of Atomist theology, we will find that] the only kind possible to *non-being* is that of the difference in essence, because a separate non-being or a distinct attribute can have no existence in it. The categories of *generality*, *particularity* and *inherence*, cannot have the difference of distinct attribute. The remaining three categories, *substance*, *quality*, and *activity*, can have all three kinds of Difference. Some examples: "This is a cloth, not a pot; it is made of threads. This is a smell, not a color; it is fragrant. This is motion, not upward propulsion, it is oblique."[1]

Udayana proves the existence of the all-knowing, imperishable God, in seven ways: From (1) effects, (2) atomic combinations, (3) the suspension and other states of the world, (4) the existence of human skills, (5) the existence of authoritative knowledge, (6) the existence of Revelation and (7) the numerical combination of atoms.

The first and most important argument from effects is: Things like the earth must have a cause. Because they are effects. Like a pot. By having a cause Udayana means active production by someone possessed of the intent to produce, and a direct knowledge concerning the matter from which the production is to be.[2]

Aghoraśiva uses the above argument and shows that (1) the world, being an effect should have a cause, (2) the cause should be free from the limitations of the effect, and hence transcendent. This brings us to his doctrine of causality, which is only a critical application of the Sāṅkhya theory to its monist interpretation by Difference-in-Identity thinkers.

Aghora's Doctrine of Causality

The Siddhānta is a Difference system, but, as we have often pointed out, its emanationist doctrine of the Five Pure Principles makes it intermediary between the other systems of Difference and those of Difference-in-Identity.

1. *Ibid*, (Pereira, p. 115).
2. Udayana, *Nyāyakusumāñjali*, *Stabaka*, 5, in Pereira, p. 116.

The Siddhānta is thus in perpetual danger of lapsing into Difference-in-Identity monism, a danger that takes effect in the work of the Siddhānta monists. For them intra-divine emanation is only a preparation for the divinity's lapse into the phenomenal, a lapse ruinous to the difference between God and the world.

The Sanskrit systematicians of the Siddhānta Difference school therefore endeavor to refute Difference-in-Identity before establishing their own doctrine of causality, claiming that it violates the principle of contradiction. As Nārāyaṇakaṇṭha puts it:

> Just as the contradictories, being and non-being, are found in the soul as mutually cancelling, [so too] the simultaneous inherence of the innately conscious and unconscious is not possible in the Supreme Soul [without each cancelling the other]. Which is why the noble Kheṭakanandana [also known as Sadyojyoti] says:
> Contradictory qualities, present at the same time, and situated in the same locus, bring about a cleavage in the soul through mutual destruction.

Then Nārāyaṇakaṇṭha goes on to enunciate the Sāṅkhya principle that change occurs only in the unconscious, and applies to the theologies of Difference-in-Identity:

> And neither can unconsciousness ever belong to Him, because of His impartite nature; for, were a partite nature to be conformable [to His being], He would be an effect—as are things like a wall and a storeroom—and His supreme causality would be void [since such causality, independent as it is of any cause, can never be an effect]. *Besides, whatever is a material cause is unconscious, as are clay and like substances.* Material cause that He is, this Supreme Lord [of the Vedāntins] is thus an unconscious being.
>
> 'Material causality is not His insofar as He has consciousness; He may yet be unconscious [in another aspect of His nature]; What fallacy is there in that ?'
>
> The cause of conscious things is Himself unconscious—that is indeed strange talk ! Moreover, if unconsciousness is conformable [to His nature], He would possess no power to

produce His own effect—like substances such as clay, which are subject to the control of agents endowed with intelligence.[1]

With Difference-in-Identity refuted, and Difference or dualism proved, Aghoraśiva goes on to establish dualisms through the entire spectrum of reality, specifically, of three kinds—first, the ontologically dual structure of things; second, Śiva's dual energies, the Primordial and the Assumptive, and third, the dual material cause, Nucleus and the Mirific Power.

The Dual Structure of Things

A dual structure—the Absolute-Relative binary—permeates all existence. This can be shown by taking an instance each from the two main divisions of reality, the unconscious and the conscious. Fire, an unconscious object, is igneous in its absolute nature but has the function of burning when related to combustible objects, a function which is only latent in fire in the absence of the objects. Consciousness too can be considered absolutely as awareness per se, as existing independently of any objects capable of its notice; or relatively, as connected with an object through nothing or being conscious of it.[2]

Belonging as it does to the essence of reality, this dual structure is found in the Supreme Śiva, that is, in the Godhead Itself, in the binity of the Energizer-Energy, which may be described as the Divine Absolute-Divine Relative. Both Energizer and Energy have the same essence, a "mass of consciousness" that is "knowledge and action by nature."[3] Considered in itself, this essence is the Energizer; considered with reference to the phenomenal world, it is Energy, the Primordial Energy.

1. "na cāsya anaṃśatvāt kenaciccācetanatvam yuktam / sāṃśatvābhyupagame tu kuḍyakusūlādivat kāryatvāt paramakāraṇatāhāniḥ / kiṃca yadyadupādānakāraṇam tattadacetanam yathā mṛdādi / acetanaścāyam paramātmā upādānakāraṇatvāt / cetanatve nāsyopādānakāraṇatvam astvacetanam ko doṣa iti cet cetanānām kāraṇam svayam cācetanamiti vicitreyamuktiḥ / acaitanyābhyupagame cāsya buddhimatkartrādhiṣṭhitasya mṛtpiṇḍāderiva na svakāryajanane sāmarthyam /. *Mṛgendrāgama paramokṣanirāsaprakaraṇam, vṛtti* on v. 14. N. Kriṣṇa Śāstri and K. M. Subrahmanya Śāstri, p. 81.

2. Aghoraśiva, *Ratnatrayollekhinī* on vv. 288-91. *AP*, 2.1.

3. *TPV*, 1. See, *infra*, Chapter IV.

Śiva's Dual Energies

This Primordial Energy is of course inherent in the Godhead; Its transcendence preserves the latter from the taint of the phenomenal. Yet the Deity, sovereign and omnipotent that it is, cannot lack the power to act on the phenomenal. But neither can such power (and the Energy which it embodies) be in intimate contact with the Deity without sullying Its essence. The power has thus to be external to Śiva, a power that He can "assume" and control; in short, the Assumptive Energy (*parigraha-śakti*). This is consequently a potency that is not inherent in Śiva, but adventitious.

It is thus through this Assumptive Energy that Śiva relates to Matter, the unconscious stuff of the universe. Matter, as we have seen, exists in two states, the unmanifest and the manifest. As related to unmanifest Matter, Assumptive Energy is the world's efficient cause; as related to manifest Matter, it is the instrumental. As Aghora says, "It is only through the instrument in the form of Energy that Śiva becomes capable of the Fivefold Function in order that experience and liberation may result for souls."[1]

This postulation of an adventitious Energy of Śiva's—consistent as it is with the principle that what is conscious cannot transform—preserves Śiva from the need to self-diversify in order to give rise to the cosmos. The Godhead is thus shown to be immune to change, but can it also be shown to be immune from contact with phenomenal impurity?

The Two Material Causes

It can, in Aghora's view, through postulating the two spheres or Ways (*adhva*) of creation, the pure (*śuddhādhva*) and the impure (*aśuddhādhva*). The Great Mirific Power (*mahāmāyā*) or Nucleus (*bindu*) constitutes the former and the Mirific Power (*māyā*) the latter. Because of His purity, Śiva cannot directly operate on the Mirific Power but only on the pure Nucleus; through the latter's emanations, the Pentad or Five Pure Principles, He acts on the evolutes of the Mirific Power, which themselves originate through the superintendence of intermediary agents like the god

1. *TPV* 3. See *infra*, Chapter IV.

Ananta.[1] These agents are semi-liberated souls, or "angels," tainted with Superintendence Pollution (*Adhikāra mala*). They abide in the worlds pertaining to the pure emanations of Nucleus, and these are given illuminating experiences to help them overcome their Pollution.[2]

The Great Mirific Power or Nucleus thus forms an order of reality that mediates between the emanation-free transcendence of the deity, and the impure emanations of the Mirific Power. Aghora found it a convenient category in which to install the Pentad, which he hurled from their divine eminence (if we may be permitted to use the metaphor) by his fulmination of the Sāṅkhya thunderbolt. But having been long accustomed to divine dignity, they took long to reconcile themselves (if they ever did) to their new role of unconsciously evolving emanations. It will be recalled that their names—which clearly indicate their conscious nature—are Śiva, Energy, the Ever-Beneficent, the Supreme Lord and Knowledge. How, for instance, can "knowledge" be justified as being something unconscious?

In answer to this seemingly unresolvable problem (not, to our knowledge, ever tackled by Aghora) some help was offered by Bhartṛhari's Sonic Absolutism (*Śabdabrahmavāda*) with its theory of the four modes of Sound (*nāda*).[3] Śivāgrayogin explains it in some detail:

> Now the modes of Sound are fourfold—the Subtle (*sūkṣmā*), the Visioning (*paśyanti*), the Interjacent (*madhyamā*) and the Displayed (*vaikharī*). The speech subsisting entirely in Knowledge and illuminating meaning in general is the Subtle. The speech capable of disclosing the peculiar [coalescence of] letters and meaning undifferentiated like [a peacock in] the liquid of a peacock's egg, is the Visioning. The speech formed of letters [now] arrived at the mind, which has entered into their sequence, but is yet beyond the reach of the forms of breath—that speech is the Interjacent. The speech made manifest through a form of breath, capable of disclosing

1. *TPV* 25.
2. *TPV* 10, comm. See *infra*, Chapter IV.
3. For a study of Bhartṛhari's theory of language, see Harold G. Coward, *Bhartṛhari* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1976).

the peculiar meaning graspable by the ear—that speech is the Displayed. It must be observed that the Subtle speech is the cause of the Visioning, the Visioning of the Interjacent and the Interjacent of the Displaying. These modes constitute the knowledge of the infinitesimal souls. The first three exist interiorly; the last one exists outside. And these sounds are subtle in the Pure Path, coarse in the Mixed, and very coarse in the Impure.

Now the Five Principles originating in the Nucleus are known as Śiva, Energy, the Ever-Beneficent, the Supreme Lord and Pure Wisdom.....In the Śiva Principle inheres the form of Word known as the Subtle. .....The permutation of the Śiva principle is the Energy Principle: and it is where the form of Word termed the Visioning.....abides. The permutation of the Energy principle is the Ever-Beneficent Principle; it is the substratum of the speech called the Interjacent. Therefore the permutation of the Ever-Beneficent Principle is the Supreme Lord Principle. It is the cause of the body and the heavenly abode of gods like Ananteśa [Lord of Eternity] and of the Infinitesimal Rudras [Howlers] who have arrived at his abode through rendering him homage. The permutation of the Supreme Lord Principle is the Wisdom Principle: it is the substratum of the form of Word known as the Displaying.....

But others [Siddhāntins before Aghora] speak of a definition of the Five Principles originant in Śiva. [In their view the Five Principles subsist in the Supreme Spirit Himself. Of these] the exclusively knowledge-endowed principle subsistent in the Supreme Spirit is the Śiva Principle; the exclusively Activity-endowed principle so subsistent is the Energy Principle; the principle equally functioning in both is the Ever-Beneficent Principle; that furnished with greater Activity is the Supreme Lord Principle; and the one furnished with greater knowledge is the Wisdom Principle.[1]

1. "atra śabdavṛttiścaturdhā, sūkṣmā paśyantī madhyamā vaikharī ceti / tatra jñānaikāśrayā arthasāmānyaprakāśikā vāṇī sūkṣmā / mayūrāṇḍarasavadavibhaktavarṇārthaviśeṣabodhanakṣamā vāṇī paśyantī / buddhyupārūḍhavarṇā tatkramaviśeṣopetā prāṇavṛttyagocaribhūtā saiva madhyamā / prāṇavṛttyābhivyaktā śrotragrāhyārthaviśeṣabodhanakṣamā śaiva vaikharī /

As there are only four modes of Sound, while there are Five Principles, the correspondence with one of the Principles has to be dropped, and is, as regards the third Principle, the Ever-Beneficent. This defect in systematic symmetry shows how unsuccessful the Siddhāntins were in resolving the anomaly caused by relegating the Five Pure Principles to the level of the Unconscious.

The Mirific Power (*māyā*) in Siddhānta theology stands for the material cause of the universe both corporeal and incorporeal. *Māyā* is a noun derived from the root *mā* meaning "to measure"; it has a dual meaning, one signifying art, artifice and such things; the other implying cunning, deceit, fraud or enchantment. Aghoraśiva employs both meanings and defines the Mirific Power as being "real in essence, root or material cause of the universe, and eternal.[1].....It breeds infatuation."[2] The first part of the definition affirms the Mirific Power to be inert (*jaḍa*), unconscious, real, and pervaded by the will of an intelligent agent, Śiva. Śiva cannot be conceived as evolving the world out of nothing. There is need of a material principle which evolves and a conscious cause which makes that evolution possible. In Bhoja's words:

> There is no effect without an agent, nor yet without a material cause and instrument.....Here His instrument are the Energies. His material cause is postulated to be the subtle Mirific Power.[3]

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tatra sūkṣmā paśyantyāḥ paśyantī madhyamāyāḥ, madhyamā vaikharyāśca kāraṇam draṣṭavyam / etāśca vṛttayo'ṇūnām pratyayātmikāḥ / tatra tisro'ntareva sthitāḥ / anyā bahiḥ sthitā / ete ca śabdāḥ śuddhādhvani sūkṣmāḥ, miśrādhvani sthūlāḥ, aśuddhādhvani sthūlatarāḥ / ....atra bindvārabdhāni śivaśaktisadāśiveśvaraśuddhavidyākhyāni pañca tattvāni /....tatra śivatattve sūkṣmābhidhānā vāgvṛttiḥ / ....śivatattvavikāraḥ śaktitattvaṃ / atraiva paśyantyākhyāyā vāgvṛtteḥ nivṛttyādikalānām cāvasthānam /....śaktitattvavikāraḥ sadāśivatattvam / idameva madhyamābhidhānāyā vāṇyā adhiṣṭhānam / ....sadāśivatattvavikāra īśvaratattvam / idam cānanteśādīnām tadārādhanādinā tatpadam prāptānām rudrāṇūnām ca tanubhuvanādikāraṇam / īśvaratattvavikāro vidyātattvam / idameva vaikharyākhyāyā vāgvṛtteradhiṣṭhānam /." Śivāgrayogin, *Śaiva Paribhāṣā* (*pariccheda* 4), pp. 81-84.

1. *TPV*, 19.
2. *TPV*, 39.
3. *TP*, 37-38.

The second half of the definition, that the Mirific Power breeds infatuation, is the basis for Aghora's postulation of a pure material cause (Nucleus) besides the impure Mirific Power. The latter by its very nature infatuates the individual subjected to the law of *karma*; by means of its evolutes (such as body, the world and its objects) it causes the non-eternal, impure, painful and non-self to seem eternal, pure, blissful and self.[1] But these evolutes also serve to partially unveil the Pollution-ridden soul by manifesting knowledge.[2]

The union of the soul with these evolutes gives rise to experiences of pain which help the soul to articulate its *karma*. For this reason, the Mirific Power is also considered a Bond. By association with Mirific Power Pollution (*māyīya mala*), the soul is ultimately freed of its Infinitesimal Pollution (*āṇava mala*).

The second half of the definition thus helps to accentuate rather than contradict the wondrous character of the Mirific Power, which becomes evident through the coincidence of opposites. Numerically it is one, yet from it emanate thirty categories each giving the soul a unique experience. It is eternal as the material cause of the world and yet its evolutes have a quality of transitoriness, when they are manifested at creation and merged at the dissolution. It is not inherently associated with Śiva and yet is His Assumptive Energy. It is subtle because it is formless and yet contains all visible forms. It accords with the karma of all beings and yet helps the soul to experience all karma. It deludes the soul by concealing the latter's true nature, yet it partially enlightens by revealing to the soul the knowledge of the objective world. All opposites harmonize in it because Śiva Himself is mysteriously present within its being.[3]

The Categories of the Siddhānta

The Siddhānta has two classes of Categories (*padārthas* or *tattvas*) or Principles, three eternal or primary, and thirty-six temporary, secondary or dependent (*Ṣaṭtriṃśattattvāni*). A Category or Principle may be defined as an objective reality whose

1. *TPV*, 39.
2. *TPV* 25.
3. *TPV* 38-40.

production is ordered in a definite succession, which provides beings with experience, aids in the consummation of karma, and endures till Dissolution.[1]

The primary categories are, of course, Master, Beast and Bond. Master, as we have seen earlier, is eternally in union with Energy. Beast is the soul engulfed by Pollution. According to the degree of their bondage the souls are classed as Intelligence-Deconditioned, Dissolution-Deconditioned, and Conditioned. They properly belong under the dependent Categories since, when conditioned by the Five Sheaths (*pañcakañcuka*), the soul itself receives the name Spirit (*puruṣa*). Bond is that which binds the soul, and is inconscient by nature. It consists of the Five Objects (*arthapañcakam*) : the two material causes, Nucleus and Mirific Power, and the three Pollutions, Infinitesimal Pollution, Karma, and the Energy of Concealment. With the exception of the Mirific Power, none of these Objects is counted among the dependent Categories.[2]

Karma, the individual's destiny, is the accumulated effect of one's past deeds. It determines the kind of experiences an individual goes through in life, and, through His own will, Śiva's creative activity itself. Śiva creates the world—the evolutes of Mirific Power—with the appropriate bodies and means of experience according to the karma of each soul. Karma is also an ethical principle; the belief that there is no ultimate escape from past deeds, good and bad, enables the soul to experience pleasure and pain, and thus seek to rid itself of the Infinitesimal Pollution. And on account of its binding effects, karma is itself regarded as a Pollution (*karma-mala*) (*TPV*, 19).

The Energy of Concealment is one of the Energies which Śiva assumes when a particular function has to be performed for the liberation of Beast. Śiva's activities comprise the Five Cosmic Functions (*pañcakṛtya*) of creation (*sṛṣṭi*), maintenance (*sthiti*), dissolution (*pralaya*), concealment (*tirodhāna*) and grace

1. The *raison d'être* of a Category consists of its exclusive capacity to exercise a specific function in union with its common energizer, the Conscious-Energy (*cit-śakti*). A denial of this specific function is a rejection of the very principle underlying the enumeration of Categories; *TP* 73; *TPV* 75, P. S. Filliozat, p. 251.

2. *TPV*, 17. Hereafter for references to *TP* verses 1-24, see *infra*, Chapter IV; verses 25-75, see Pereira, pp. 170-75.

(*anugraha*). The first three Functions are chiefly cosmological, as they condition the being of the cosmos; the last two are principally soteriological, as they relate to the liberation of the soul (*TPV*, 7). As Hindu thought orients cosmology towards salvation, the first three Functions can be said to be related to the last two as means to goal. They are thus described by Avadhūta, one of the Siddhānta's ancient masters, whose work seems to have been lost, save for the following lines:

> One of the powers of the Lord of inviolate power, unimpeded by the nets of your Bonds, fetters the Self (the Knower of the Field). Another of these powers, cutting through all the Attributes with the sword of knowledge, orients Spirit towards liberation.[1]

The Dependent Categories and Their Evolution

The secondary or dependent Categories are thirty-six. They begin with Śiva, the first change of state that Nucleus undergoes when activated by the Supreme Śiva's Primordial Energy. Its function is to reveal the powers of knowledge and action to those who enter the Pure Sphere (*śuddhādhva*), which comprises itself and the next Four Principles of which it is the cause: Energy (*śakti*), the Ever-Beneficent (*sadāśiva*), the Supreme Lord (*Īśvara*), and (Pure)-Knowledge (*vidyā*). Energy arises when Śiva is desirous of favoring the bound souls so that the latter may have the necessary means to reap the fruits of their past deeds.[2] As regards Śiva's Energies of Knowledge and Action, the above two Categories possess them indeterminately. When these Energies are equally determinate in regard to creation and are in a perfect state of equilibrium, the ensuing Category is called the Ever-Beneficent.[3] This state gives place to a new combination wherein the Energy of Action prevails over that of Knowledge in order to arouse cosmic activity in its subtle form, so giving rise

1. "badhnāti kācidapi śaktiraluptaśakteḥ kṣetrajñamapratihatā tava pāśajālaiḥ / jñānāsinā ca vinikṛtya guṇānaśeṣānanyā karotyabhimukham puruṣam vimuktau /." Śrīkumāra, p. 54.

2. *TP*, 27. The synonyms of the Energy Category are: *sthūlalaya* and *sthūla-niṣkala*.

3. *TP*, 29. The synonyms of the Ever-Beneficent are: *udyukta*, *bhoga*, and *sakala-niṣkala*.

to its Supreme Lord Category.[1] Next, when the Energy of Action is in abeyance and the Energy of Knowledge prevails, the Pure Knowledge Category originates[2]: in it the souls first realize their all-knowing powers.

The beings who live in the Five Pure Principles, namely, the Lords of Knowledge, Wisdom, etc., have already obtained a lower liberation, that is to say, freedom from the triple Pollution. Principles are also the *loci* for the revealed knowledge contained in the Āgamas such as *Kāmika*,[3] and of the four modes of Sound referred to above.

As Nucleus, the material cause of the Pure Sphere, of the Siddhānta's Categories is the first, the Mirific Power, the material cause of the Impure Sphere (*aśuddhādhva*), is the sixth.[4] The thirty-six evolutes from Aptitude (*kalā*) to earth (*prithivī*) exist potentially in the Mirific Power at the universal dissolution (*mahā-pralaya*). The gross world comes into being when it is stirred into action through the energy of Ananta, the indirect causal instrument of creation.[5]

In the logical order, the first evolute of the Mirific Power is the Time Category (*kāla*). The function of this is to divide the world into past, present and future. In the order of its function, however, Time is to be counted after the ensuing Categories of Aptitude, Knowledge (*vidyā*) and Attachment (*rāga*).[6] Necessity (*niyati*), Fate or Order is the second evolute. It helps each

1. *TP*, 29. The synonyms are: *sūkṣma-adhikāra*, *sūkṣma-pravṛtti*, and *sūkṣma-sakala*.

2. *TP*, 30. The synonyms are : *sthūla-adhikāra*, *sthūla-īśvara*, *sthūla-pravṛtti*, and *sthūla-sakala*.

3. *TP*, 31. All Scriptures, including the Vedas, are contained in the fifth Category, Knowledge. The underlying presupposition of this Siddhānta teaching is that Scripture is not, strictly speaking, knowledge, but only a means to experiential knowledge. Personal religious experience therefore transcends all categorizations.

The Siddhānta differs from Bhartṛhari's in holding that all these linguistic categories are distinct from the Supreme Śiva; Śrīkaṇṭha, *Ratnatraya*, vv. 30-44, in *AP*, 2.1.

4. *TP*, 39-40. The 'two' material substrates are not opposed but continuous levels of the same material cause. The latter evolves from the former, activated by the Energy of Śiva.

5. *TP*, 39-40.

6. *TPV*, 41.

soul to reap its own karma. No other soul can enjoy or suffer the consequences of one's actions.[1] The next three evolutes manifest partially the essential nature of the individual soul: The Aptitude Category partially removes the veil of Pollution which clouds the inherent powers of the soul. When the power of knowledge is thus manifested, the soul is further helped to comprehend the objects of the world by the Knowledge Category just as a path and a torch are provided for the person starting a journey.[2] The comprehension of objects has to be followed by the arousal of desire without which no experience of the object is possible. This function is provided for the soul by the Category called Attachment.[3]

The aggregate of the five Principles, namely, Time, Necessity, Aptitude, Knowledge and Attachment, is called the Five Sheaths. Moved by these, the soul receives the appellation "Spirit" (*puruṣa*)—an agent capable of experience.[4] The experience of the soul, however, is limited by the presence of hindrances such as ignorance (*avidyā*), egoity (*asmitā*), attachment (*rāga*), identification (*abhiniveśa*) and aversion (*dveṣa*). These five constitute the impurity which occasions the five Categories referred to as the Sheaths.[5]

When the soul has attained the status of an experiencer (*bhoktṛtva*), the Aptitude Category manifests its third evolute, the Unevolved (*avyakta*).[6] It is the cause of the three Attributes, Brightness, Passion and Darkness which are in a subtle state.[7]

1. *TPV*, 42.

2. *TP*, 46-47. The Knowledge Category, which is a means to comprehension, is distinguished from the Senses, as the internal and external means respectively. See Aghoraśiva's commentary on the above verses. A separate means other than Instinct (*buddhi*) is postulated in order to comprehend Instinct when it becomes an object of comprehension; see Sadyojyoti, *Tattva-Saṅgraha*, v. 14, in *AP*, 1.2.

3. *TP*, 48. This Category manifests a general or 'objectless' attachment and hence should be distinguished from *avairāgya* which is a quality of the intellect. The latter denotes a specific attachment.

4. While viewing the soul as an experiencing subject, Aghoraśiva rejects the Sāṅkhya theory that Matter functions actively for the benefit of the Spirit. See Aghoraśiva, *Tattvasaṅgrahavyākhyā* on vv. 15-16, in *AP*, 1.2.

5. "kalādipañcakasyaiva yadi puṃstve nimittāḥ" *Pauṣkara Āgama* 6.4 cited in Śivarāman, pp. 242, 563.

6. *TP*, 50. This is also called *prakṛti* or *pradhāna*.

7. The Unmanifest Category is different from Sāṅkhya's Matter because,

When the three Attributes become manifest, the Attribute Category (*guṇa*) comes into being. Their effects are respectively, light, activity and limitation, and also pleasure, sorrow and delusion.[1] The Attributes dominate the soul's powers of knowledge, action and desire and direct its orientation. The predominant Attribute at a given moment determines the soul's experience of objects. For instance, when Brightness predominates, there is illumination and knowledge; when Passion predominates, desire and a sense of appropriation; and when Darkness predominates, distortion and deception.

From the triad of Attributes proceeds Instinct (*buddhi*) whose function is to apprehend objects in a determinate manner,[2] and to serve as a substratum for latent impressions—the merits and demerits due to one's karma.[3] From Instinct evolves Egoism (*ahaṅkāra*), according to which Attributes predominate, is differentiated into vitality (*jīvana*), impetuosity (*saṃrambha*) and pride (*garva*)[4]; and also into the Fiery (*taijasa*), Modifying (*vaikharī*) and Elemental (*bhutādi*)[5]. The Mind (*manas*) and Faculties of Knowledge evolve from Fiery Egoism; the Faculties of Action, from the Modifying; and the five Subtle Elements and their effect, the five Gross Elements, from the Elemental.[6]

Beast or Spirit

The Siddhānta has a twofold problem with regard to the soul,

being manifold and insentient, the Unmanifest is an effect, therefore temporary. For the Sāṅkhya it is eternal. Another difference is that for the Sāṅkhya, the attributes themselves constitute *prakṛti*. Aghoraśiva considers this wanting because, being manifold and insentient, it must have a cause. In the enumeration of categories, Matter and Attributes are counted as one. This is to show that "there is no difference between cause (Matter) and effects (subsumed Categories)." *TPV*, 24. For Śaiva Siddhānta, substance is not a substrate, but an aggregate of attributes. For a full discussion of this point, see S. S. Śāstri, *Collected Papers of Professor S. S. Suryanarayana* Śāstri (Madras: University of Madras, 1961), pp. 178-85.

1. *TPV*, 51.
2. *TPV* 52. The indeterminate manifestation of objects is made determinate in expressions such as 'this is a pot.'
3. Since the soul is immutable and sentient, an insentient Category such as Instinct is needed for storing latent impressions.
4. *TP*, 53.
5. *TP*, 54.
6. *TP*, 55-62.

or Beast: to prove its existence against those who deny it; and against those who accept it, but describe its essence differently, to demonstrate the validity of its own description of that essence—which consists in establishing Beast as distinct from Master and Bond.

The most extreme form of the denial of the soul is that of the Buddhist Vacuists (śūnyavādins) or "Nihilists," for whom all essences especially the souls are "empty" (*śūnya*); or as "nothing" as their opponents choose to interpret Vacuism's key word, *śūnya*. These Buddhists, as most others, except perhaps the "Personalists" or *pudgalavādins*, break up the soul into the five components (*skandhas*), materiality, sensations, concepts, volitions and consciousness. None of these, they declare, can be identified with an immutable soul. Summarizing the Vacuist view, V. Bhattacharya says:

> Thus and in various other ways, too many to be mentioned, the existence of a permanent Self or *ātman*, as accepted in other systems, was utterly denied by Buddha, thereby pulling down the very foundation of desire where it can rest.[1]

According to the Siddhānta critique of Buddhist teaching the denial of the soul involves a contradiction, selfhood being implied in the very act of denying the self. As Descartes, from his *cogito, ergo sum*, concludes that only someone who exists can *know* that there is no existence, so too, the Buddhist "Nihilist" at first identifies "something" with the Components, and then knows that each of them is not that "something," which is the "I," or the soul.[2]

As for those who accept the soul's existence, many of them identify it with the Bond or Master. What the Buddhists seem to be doing, when denying the existence of the soul and splitting it into its components, is actually identifying it with what the Siddhāntins call Bond.

For Siddhāntins like Śivāgrayogin, living in an ambience where

1. V. V. Bhattacharya, *The Basic Conceptions of Buddhism*, p. 70, quoted in T. R. V. Murti, *The Central Philosophy of Buddhism* (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1955), p. 18.

2. Devasenāpathy, pp. 194-95; Śivarāman, pp. 284-85.

no Buddhists were to be found, and where the memory of their theological tradition had declined, their teaching could be interpreted to mean that the five sense organs constitute the soul. The senses cognize in the waking state, and cease to cognize in the sleep, in decay, and at death. Śivāgrayogin maintains that the sense organs, even if taken as an aggregate, cannot be the soul, because each can perceive only its proper object. The soul, on the contrary, should know all, even though in its present state of bondage it falls short of the full exercise of this all-knowing function.[1] The internal organs such as the Instinct (*Buddhi*), Mind (*Manas*), too, cannot cognize each other, but associate themselves very intimately with the soul in the process of knowing. Like the lamp that aids the eye, they serve as means to know the intelligence of the soul itself.[2] The same objection is valid for those views which take the body to be the soul.[3] The aggregate of all constituents of Bond in the form of the Mirific Power (or Matter) also is not a competent subject for the soul. Being insentient, that Power undergoes transformation, while Spirit is conscious and hence not subject to internal change.[4]

After showing that the function of the soul cannot be fulfilled by the Bond or any of its parts, the Siddhāntin shows that the soul differs from Śiva despite their common characteristic, consciousness.[5] It might seem that to deny the identity of the soul with its bodily, mental and vital functions is to identify it with the eternal, immutable and omniscient Śiva Himself. However, the concepts of bondage and release, applicable only to the soul militate against such an identity. For though the souls are designated as Śivas they, as Aghoraśiva remarks,

> [are released] through that Supreme God's grace. [As for Him] *He is the one eternally released being*. Eternally released is He who is endowed with eternal, immaculate and unexcelled perfections grounded in His essence, and also with the Energies of Knowledge and Action.[6]

1. Devasenapathy, p. 197.
2. Ibid., p. 198.
3. Aghoraśiva, *Tattvasaṅgrahavyākhyā* on vv. 20-23, in *AP* 1.2.
4. Aghoraśiva, *Tattvatrayanirṇayavyākhyā*, on v. 4, in *AP* 1.3.
5. *Ibid.*, on v. 5.
6. *TPV*, 6.

The Siddhāntins all agree that the soul (Beast) is a sentient being whose powers of knowledge and action are beginninglessly obscured by Pollution.[1] And it is precisely their concept of Pollution which seems to distinguish their definition of the soul from the definitions of the other Indian schools. It also distinguishes the soul from Śiva who, being immaculate, releases the soul from bondage.

As for the soul's relation to Pollution, it has a triple grade—conditioned (*sakala*), deconditioned (*akala*), and unconditioned or immaculate (*vimala*). The soul is said to be Conditioned, when it is fettered by the triple Bond of Pollution, the Mirific Power, and Karma. It is Deconditioned when freed from one or two of these Bonds. When freed at Dissolution, from the Mirific Power (then reverting to its formless state) it is known as Dissolution-Deconditioned (*pralayākala*). When freed through Knowledge (Intelligence) from Karma's bonds as well, it is called Intelligence-Deconditioned (*vijñānākala*). When freed from all the bonds it is called the unconditioned, and thus arrives at the state of liberation, where all its powers are manifested, and its nature wholly freed (*vimala*) from Pollution's taint. The *Svāyambhuva Āgama* interprets the soul's triple grade somewhat differently, as pure, bound, and liberated anew through Initiation (*punarmuktaśca dikṣayā*).[2]

Infinitesimal Pollution

In our third main category, Bond, Pollution is the connate impurity which conceals the powers of knowledge and action inherent in the soul.[3] Unique, yet endowed with many powers, it is capable of binding souls primordially, permitting one of them to be free and keeping the remainder in bondage. Unlike the Ignorance (*ajñāna*) of the Nondualist Vedānta, it is unequivocally a positive substance (*dravya*). It is natural to the soul, "just as the husk and rust are natural to rice and copper respectively through their eternal (or coincident) concealment."[4] "Like a cataract in the eye," Pollution is insentient and can be removed, not by the mere dawn of knowledge, as in the Non-

1. *TPV*, 6.
2. Aghoraśiva, *Tattvatrayanirṇayavyākhyā*, on v. 6, in *AP* 1.3.
3. TP, 18.
4. *TPV*, 18.

dualist Vedānta, but by the Energy of Śiva, known as Initiation or *dīkṣā*.[1]

Through this doctrine the Siddhānta challenges the Non-dualist Vedāntin's theory of the Self as Pure Consciousness, apparently, but not really, veiled by the beginningless Ignorance. What is in question here is whether the soul is immediately self-conscious. In the Siddhānta view its powers are really concealed and therefore inoperative, though uninterruptedly persisting in their conscious nature. The entire cosmic activity takes place because of the bound-state of the soul, which requires that it have the material means such as a body and senses for the removal of Pollution and the consequent manifestation of its own powers of knowledge and action.[2]

Two main arguments highlight the need for the concept of Pollution. The first, discussed by Aghoraśiva, is that the soul is immaculate by nature and yet has a craving for experience (*bhogalolikā*). Were this craving, the cause of transmigration, to derive from the soul's nature, the soul would crave even in liberation, that is, not to be liberated at all. The craving must therefore originate outside the soul, in a substance capable of concealing the soul's innately immaculate essence and powers. This substance can be none other than the primordial and connate Pollution (*mala*).[3] Aghoraśiva complements this argument by stating that Śiva is tranquil, meaning thereby that unlike the bound soul, He is free of desire and hatred, "because Pollution, their cause, is incapable of existing in Himself."[4]

The second argument for Pollution is that without it the states of bound and liberated would be indistinguishable. As the soul is in essence omniscient, and omniscience is a factor in liberation, the soul, left to itself, would continue liberated. The soul it is true, is not liberated by essence, as is Śiva; but neither can it be liberated through the addition of something extraneous to its essence, for then, the liberated state would be accidental to the soul, and even when realized, could be lost. This difficulty is resolved by distinguishing between manifest (or actual) and

1. Sadyojyoti, *Tattvasaṅgraha*, v. 28, and Aghora's commentary, in *AP* 1.2.
2. For a critical study on Pollution in the context of Witness-Consciousness (*sākṣi-caitanya*) of Vedānta, see Śivarāman, pp. 249-65.
3. Aghoraśiva, *Bhogakārikāvṛtti* on v. 3, in *AP* 2.2.
4. *TPV*, 1.

unmanifest (or potential) liberation. The soul is said to be, by its essence, unmanifestly liberated.[1]

What keeps the soul's liberation unmanifest can only be an extraneous factor, evidently Bond, which may either be the body, delusion and demerit, Karma, the Mirific Power or (infinitesimal) Pollution itself. But it cannot be the body, for in death as in dissolution there is freedom from embodiment. It cannot be delusion or demerit, because these are dispositions of Instinct. It cannot be one's karma, because in dissolution the soul is disengaged from its karma. It cannot be the Mirific Power, because Mirific power is only an adventitious pollution. What remains, then, is the connate infinitesimal Pollution—an unconditioned obstruction the termination of which alone constitutes freedom and liberation.[2]

Aghora's Doctrine of Liberation

The liberated soul's relationship with Śiva is one of the Siddhānta's central doctrines, and is differently explained by the system's gnostic and devotional schools. Aghoraśiva's own doctrine is that of Sadyojyoti, Nārāyaṇakaṇṭha and other Sanskrit

1. "baddha-mukta-vibhāgānyathānupapattyā mala-siddhiḥ." Śivāgrayogin, *Śivāgrabhāṣya*, p. 307, cited by Śivarāman, p. 568.

2. "anāderanavacchinnānandānubhavāvarakasya malasyā'pagamenaiva vimuktatva-vyapadeśo vācya iti malo'bhyupeya iti." Śivāgrayogin, *Śivāgrabhaṣya*, p. 308, cited by Śivarāman, p. 569.

An inquiry into the nature of Pollution, from a Nondualist viewpoint, shows that as a philosophical concept it fails to defend its claim to being a substance. Consequently it fails to maintain the mode of its relationship to the soul. For, one of the unique features of Śaiva Siddhānta is that an attribute is identical with its substance. S. S. Śāstri, *Collected Papers*, pp. 178-85.

When Pollution is postulated as being one, and yet as having many powers or qualities, when the powers are made ineffective, the substance itself, logically speaking, should lose its power. A continuation of the powers of Pollution therefore goes contrary to the understanding of the notion of substance. Secondly, if the powers are weakened and only the conjunction of Pollution with the soul is removed, then one has to face the difficulty regarding the nature of this conjunction. Is it external or internal? If external, then the inherent powers of the soul should remain intact and self-manifested. If internal, then it would amount to the transformation of the soul when Pollution is removed. It would then invalidate the main principle of Aghoraśiva that a conscious being does not undergo transformation.

Siddhānta systematicians, but is rejected by prominent thinkers of the Tamilian school, as Śivāgrayogin for instance.

Aghoraśiva's doctrine is one of the four modes of the theory of Equality with Śiva —which is originant (*utpatti*), pervasive (*saṅkrānti*), penetrative (*samāveśa*) and manifested (*abhivyakti*). Originant Equality, advanced by the Great Vow-Holder Sect, means that equality with Śiva *originates* at the moment of liberation. Pervasive Equality, the view of the Monist Pastoralists, signifies that the divine qualities like omniscience *pervade* the soul at liberation as the fragrance of sandal does cloth. Penetrative Equality, the opinion of the Skullmen, means that the same qualities possess or *penetrate* souls as spirits possess or enter men. Manifested Equality, the doctrine of the "partial" Śaivas, signifies that these qualities, long latent due to the power of the Infinitesimal Pollution, become *manifest* at liberation.[1]

This is Aghoraśiva's teaching, and it is drawn from the *Mṛgendra Āgama* and its commentary (*vṛtti*) by Nārāyaṇakaṇṭha:

The Āgama

In the Śaiva doctrine the Accomplished One shines at the head of the others; in creation the liberated and most excellent man does not proceed down below. Controlling all his interests by his own power, he is forever unagitated by the All-Master.

Nārāyaṇakaṇṭha

In this sacred science [the Siddhānta] the [blessed or] Accomplished [siddha] one attains a multiple power proportionate to the various heavenly worlds, shares in their delights, and becomes endowed with every excellence. Which is why the revered teacher Bṛhaspati says:

> The incomparable, imperishable and inconceivable greatness that is in the Supreme Śiva—that same greatness is in the blessed being who has destroyed the multitude of his bonds.

You cannot argue that the liberation of the soul has the same character in the other systems too—a liberation [that takes

1. Śivāgrayogin, *Śaivaparibhāṣā* (*pariccheda* 5).

forms] like the extinction of [individual] consciousness through realizing absorption into the Brahman [as the Vedāntins believe], or like the discrimination between Matter and Spirit [as the Sāṅkhyas maintain]. For in this system—the control of the causes of bondage, Pollution, Karma and the Supreme Lord's power of Obscuration, having ceased—the liberated being "does not proceed down below" [as the Āgama declares], that is to say, does not become transmigrant. What then does he do? The Āgama replies with the words "all interests." That liberated soul, equal as he is to Śiva in greatness, since unexcelled knowledge and activity concerning all things has arisen, and since he controls "all his interests by his own power"—this liberated one does nothing, as there is nothing to be done.

'In that case the liberated being was inactive before liberation [that is, in the eternal state anterior to transmigration] and when liberated is in the same state. What then makes him different in liberation [from himself in pre-eternity]?'

The difference is this. Since he is "unagitated" or unsettled "by the All-Master," the Supreme Lord—that is what he becomes then [in liberation].

'Is he unsettled for some time only?' No, says the Āgama, "always." Śiva the Lord does not become an unsettler with regard to him, in other words.[1]

1. "śaive siddho bhāti mūrdhnītareṣāṃ muktassṛṣṭau puṃvaro'bhyeti nādhaḥ / viśvānarthān svena viṣṭabhya dhāmnā sarveśenānīritassarvadāste//29

"iha śāstre yassiddhassa vividhabhuvanopapannavicitraiśvaryasampāditatattadbhogabhāk sarvotkarṣaśālī bhavati / tathācoktaṃ bṛhaspatipādaiḥ 'yanmāhātmyaṃ bhavati paramaśive'nupamamavyayamacintyam / tanmāhātmyaṃ siddhe hatabandhanamaṇḍale bhavati' / iti / na ca darśanāntarapratipannabrahmalayasaṃvidvināśaprakṛtipuruṣavivekādyātmano mokṣasyaivaṃguṇatvamiti yuktam / yastvasmin darśane muktassa bandhakāraṇānāṃ malakarmamāyāparameśvaranirodhaśaktīnāmuparatādhikāratvāt punassargaprārambhe nādho'bhyeti, na saṃsārī bhavatītyarthaḥ / kiṃ tarhi sa karotītyāha viśvānarthāniti āvirbhūtaniratiśayasarvārthajñatvakartṛtvataśśivasamānamahimatvātsvatejasā samadhiṣṭhitasarvārtho'pi sa muktātmā na kiñcitkaroti, karaṇīyābhāvāt / evaṃ cenmukteḥ pūrvamakiñcitkaro'bhūt muktaśca tadrūpa eveti ko'sya muktau viśeṣaḥ ayaṃ viśeṣaḥ / yatassarveśena parameśvareṇānīrito'preritaḥ / tadānīmasau bhavati / kiṃ kañcideva kālamapreryaḥ netyāha sarvadeti sarvakālaṃ taṃ pratyaprerakaśśivabhaṭṭārako bhavatītyarthaḥ /." *Mṛgendra Āgama, Prakaraṇa* 2, v. 29; and Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇakaṇṭha, "Vṛtti" on *Paramokṣanirāsaprakaraṇam*, v. 29, in *Śrī Mṛgendram*,

Aghoraśiva continues Nārāyaṇakaṇṭha's thought by emphasizing its key concepts. "*Released Souls* are those who have attained equality with Śiva.....because they are free from the impurity known as beastliness (*paśutva*).....from their union with Śiva-nature (*śivatva*) through [attributes] like omniscience, that Śiva-nature is truly theirs."[1] Aghoraśiva also anticipates, as it were, the objection raised by the majority of the Tamilian Siddhāntins: "Now if in this manner the released souls are equal in the Śiva-nature, what difference is there between them and the Supreme Lord?" In reply he quotes Bhoja's words: "however, they are released by His favor."[2] The difference seems to lie not in the nature of release, but in the mode of its attainment. In essence, release is freedom and omniscience, but in Śiva it is independent and eternal, while in Beast it is dependent on Śiva and originant in time (though thenceforth enduring eternally). Indeed, it is conceivable that Beast's powers of knowledge and action could remain forever screened by Pollution were divine grace not to unveil and manifest them.

Aghora's views were rejected by most, but not all, Tamilian Siddhāntins. Among the few exceptions were Jñānaprakāsar[3] and Maraijñāna Deśikar (15th cent.).[4] For Jñānaprakāsar the Beast's equality with Śiva, at the moment of its liberation, is not total, for it does not include the power of creating the world. For Maraijñāna, the attainment of Śiva is not actually bliss for Beast, but only the condition for the attainment of that bliss, which lies in the full realization of its connatural powers.

Among Aghora's prominent critics are Velliambalavāna Tambīran (17th cent.) and Śivāgrayogin (16th cent.), the former

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ed. N. Kṛṣṇa Śāstri and K. M. Subramanya Śāstri, Śivāgama Siddhānta Paripālana Saṅgham Publication, No. 12 (Devakottai, South India: Śivāgama Siddhānta Paripālana Saṅgham, 1928), pp. 111-12. Hereafter cited as *Śrī Mṛgendram*.

1. *TPV*, 6.
2. *Ibid.*
3. Devasenapathy, p. 12.
4. Maraijñāna Deśikar claims that his interpretation is based on the *Śivajñānabodham*. Commenting on the eleventh aphorism of the Śivajñānabodham, he says: "When the soul attains the feet of Śiva it will be immersed in the bliss of *its own* powers." He reads *svānubhava* in place of the usual reading *śivānubhava* in the aforesaid aphorism and concludes that his interpretation is compatible with the Agamic teachings. *Ibid.*, p. 8.

lenient and the latter harsh. In Tambīran's view, Aghora abandons the Siddhānta's traditional teaching, according to which, in Tambīran's mind, Pollution has first to mature, before Initiation can expunge it and so give rise to the state of liberation —fully realized only at the moment of death. As for the nature of liberation, Tambīran, quoting the Āgamas, maintains that it consists in an ineffable taste of Śiva (*Raurava Āgama*); that it is an effect of the Śiva experience (*Sarvajñānottara Āgama*); or indeed, is the Śiva-experience itself (*Acintya Viśva Āgama*). However, Tambīran's evident respect for Aghora's authority leads him to conclude that in propounding the Equality with Śiva doctrine, Aghora is not really formulating the orthodox (*siddhānta*) position, but only giving expression to a dissentient view (*pūrvapakṣa*).[1]

Śivāgrayogin is less considerate. If the soul is equal to the Supreme Self, he declares, the powers of omniscience and omnipotence being fully operative, the soul would even have the power to create the world. Moreover, remarks Śivāgrayogin,

> the soul in whom [Śiva's immanent attributes] knowledge and activity, are "manifested" [in liberation], alien as its nature is to the absence of both joy and sorrow, is itself unfit to be the Goal of Life. [For it must be alien to the absence of sorrow; that is, it must be amenable to sorrow, else it can never be bound. It must also be alien to the absence of joy; that is, amenable to joy, or else it will never achieve liberation. Such a neutral being cannot be the innately blissful Śiva, the true Goal of life].....
>
> Besides, when the liberated being, distinct from Śiva but equal to Him, is relieved of his dependence on the God, an injury to Śiva's universal sovereignty will ensue.
>
> Furthermore, there being nothing to differentiate the liberated being from Śiva, difference between them will be unfitting: for if equality with Śiva is liberation, is only partial equality liberation, or is total equality? In the first alternative, it will follow that no difference obtains between bound and liberated souls, since some equality [or similarity to Śiva] exists even

1. P. Tirujñāna Sambandhan, "Concept of *Mukti* in Śaivism," *Madras University Journal* 10:3 (1972):47-53.

in the bound. In the second alternative, if (a) the liberated being is lacking in parts, then nothing will differentiate him from a similar impartite Śiva, Himself possessed of qualities like omniscience, independent and liberated; he will be Śiva Himself, not just equal to Śiva.
But if it is postulated that (b) the liberated being is partite, then its partite character must be described as a relationship to the Nucleic Body, as none other is possible. In that case there will [again] be no distinction between liberated and bound.[1]

After thus criticizing Aghoraśiva's view, Śivāgrayogin teaches that the soul experiences Śiva's bliss rather than its own:

Moreover, equality is entirely synonymous with identity. Hence liberation is not equality to Śiva; it is solely the experience of the joy of Śiva through union with the God.....
How indeed is identity possible between the omniscient and eternally liberated Śiva and the little-knowing bound Beast—since contrary characteristics obtain only in distinct realities? On the other hand, if Beast and Śiva identify, bondage, the mark of Beast, will occur in Śiva, and eternal liberation, the mark of Śiva; in Beast himself. You cannot say that as the same jujube fruit is green and red at different times, contra-

1. "abhivyaktisāmyapakṣo'pyayuktaḥ / jñānakriyābhivyaktyātmanastasya sukhaduḥkhābhāvetaratvena svataḥ puruṣārthatvāyogāt / na ca tatkālino duḥkhābhāvaḥ puruṣārthaḥ / tasya tvayā mokṣatvenānaṅgīkārāt / jñānakriyābhivyaktereva sāmyapadābhidheyāyāstathātvenābhyupagamāt / vividhatattadbhuvanabhogahānena tulyāvayavatayā tasya puruṣārthatvāyogācca / śivādbhinnasya śivasamasya muktasya pāratantryanivṛttau śivasya sarveśvaratvavighātāpatteśca / muktānāṁ pāratantryanivṛttau jagatkāraṇaśaktimattvena svayamapi jagannirmāṇaprasaṅgācca / kiṁ ca muktasya śivasya ca bhedakābhāvādbhedo na yuktaḥ / śivasāmyasya muktitve ekadeśena sāmyaṁ vā sarvātmanā sāmyaṁ vā muktiḥ ? ādye baddhānāmapi yatkiñcitsāmyasattvena baddhamuktāviśeṣaprasaṅgaḥ / dvitīye 'pi muktasya sāvayavatvābhāve niravayavasya ṣārvajñyādiguṇavataḥ svatantrasya ca muktasya tādṛśasya śivasya ca bhedakābhāvena muktaḥ śiva eva syāt / na śivasamaḥ / muktasya sāvayavatvāṅgīkāre sāvayavatvam baindavādiśarīrayogitvameva vācyam / anyādṛśasya tasyāsambhavāt / tathā ca muktasya baddhasya cāviseśaprasaṅgaḥ /." Śivāgrayogin, *The Śaivaparibhāṣā, Pariccheda* 5. Raṅgaswamy and R. Śāstri, pp. 158-59.

dictory characteristics like omniscience and little knowledge can occur in one place; for then the Beastly state will be Śiva's own, entailing His bondage and disaccord as regards the aptness of eternal liberation to Himself.[1]

1. "kiṃ ca sarvathā sāmyasyābheda eva paryavasānam / tasmānna śivasāmyaṃ muktiḥ / kiṃ ca śivaikibhāvena śivānandānubhava eva mokṣaḥ.. nanu sarvajñena nityamuktena śivena kiñcijjñasya baddhasya paśoraikyaṃ kathaṃ sambhavati? viruddhadharmāṇām bhinneṣveva saṃbhavāt / anyathā paśuśivayorabhede paśudharmasya bandhasya śive śivadharmasya nityamuktatvasya ca paśau prasaṅgaḥ / na caikasminneva badarīphale kālabhedena śyāmaraktarūpayorivaikatraiva sarvajñatvakiñcijjñatvādiviruddhadharmayoḥ sambhava iti vācyam / tathā sati śivasyaiva paśutvadaśāyāṃ baddhatvāpattyā tasya nityamuktatvābhyupagamavirodhaprasaṅgāt /." *Ibid.*, pp. 160-61.

Chapter IV

AGHORAŚIVA, EXPOSITION OF BHOJA, *THE ILLUMINATION OF THE CATEGORIES*

Introduction

As indicated in the Introduction, this chapter is a translation of the first part consisting of twenty-four verses, which is a summary of the whole treatise, *The Illumination of the Categories*, composed of seventy-six verses.

Aghoraśiva's Introduction

Saluting Śiva, Who transcends the thirty-six categories and is united with Energy, I compose this lucid and brief commentary on *The Illumination of the Categories*. Since the text is interpreted differently by others who have been possessed by Nondualist fancies, and are ignorant of the Siddhānta teachings, I here make this effort [of correct exegesis].

In that work the Preceptor [Bhoja] in the first verse in the *āryā* meter, praises the Supreme Śiva, the transcendent above the categories, and the spotless, being the motive for the functioning, (or the object), of the Siddhānta theology, so that the work which he intends to begin may be completed without hindrance.

Opening Paeans

Śiva

1.

Victorious is Śiva, Mass of Consciousness, the One, the Omnipresent, the Eternal, the Ever-Free, the Lord, the Tranquil, the Unique Germ of the World, the Favorer of all !

[*Mass of Consciousness*] The word "consciousness' here signifies knowledge and action; as the *Mṛgendra Āgama* says:

Consciousness is knowledge and action in essence.[1]

1. *Mṛgendra Āgama, Prakaraṇa* 1, v. 5, in Śāstri, N. K. and K. M. S., *Śrī Mṛgendram*, p. 64. Whenever possible, I have identified the quotation from the *Mṛgendra Āgama* and other sources.

Mass of Consciousness means He whose body consists of pure consciousness [its two attributes being related to Him as the body to the soul]. And He is not inconscient, as [He is said to be] in the opinion of those who speak of Him as Karma and Time, for activity in an inconscient being is inconceivable without direction from a sentient principle. Nor can He logically [be said to] originate from substances like the Nucleic Body, for then He would be lacking in sovereignty [or "lordship"]. And were He dependent on another cause, then [the supposition of] whether the latter were self-caused or caused by another would entail the fallacy of an infinite regress.

The One means "without a second." Hence polytheism is untenable. Even objects like a chariot, though having many causes [or artisans], cannot be produced, unless the *many* are subject to a *single* artisan's will. Hence the *Mṛgendra* says,

> When there are many leaders, all imagine themselves wise and aspire to greatness—so what they develop goes to ruin.[1]

Even the view that Śiva is Process should be rejected, for as the essence of sovereignty consists in securing the individuality of one's being, destruction [the very essence of Process] is inconceivable [for it would imply that the individuality had not been attained, or "secured"].

The Omnipresent means "all pervading." Unlike the Jaina soul, He is not limited by the body, or qualified by contraction and expansion: Such a being would be flawed by insentience, non-eternality, and like defects.

The Eternal means "lacking a beginning and an end": So He is not, as in the Buddhistic view, momentary. What is destroyed at the moment of its origination [as the Buddhist Element, or dharma, is] cannot itself be the cause of the world.

'But liberated souls are of such a nature, are they not?'

Bhoja replies:

The Ever-Free means "eternally liberated." Unlike the liberated souls He is not released by another god's grace, as that would entail the fallacy of an infinite regress.

1. Aghoraśiva, *Mṛgendra Vṛtti Dīpikā* on *Prakaraṇa* 3, v. 1, in *Śrī Mṛgendram*, p. 120.

The Lord means "one who is capable of exercising lordship [or sovereignty]." That is to say, He cannot be directed by another god, for the reasons given. He is not a non-cause, as it is through the very concept of causality that He Himself is proved [to exist].

The Tranquil means "one who is free from [impurities like] desire and hatred." The seven *innate* impurities are infatuation, conceit, desire, grief, emaciation, despair and merriment. [He is free of these and others] because Pollution, their cause, is incapable of existing in Himself.

'Again, what is the proof for the existence of a God of such nature?'

Bhoja answers:

The Unique Germ of the World, that is, "the efficient cause of the world." This is what Bhoja means. The effectness of the world is conceived through notions like organization [discerned in the world]; and with this effectness as reason, the world's efficient cause, known as the Supreme Lord, is inferred—on the basis of the principle that "whatever is composed of parts is an effect, and whatever is an effect has a cause." As Scripture says:

> The world, the subject under discussion, is [causally] related to an agent who has knowledge of that world. The effect [the world] of both of Ourselves [Śiva and Energy]—instances of effect being objects like pots—is proved [precisely] from its effectness [or nature as effect].

The *Mātaṅga Āgama* also says:

But Śiva is the efficient cause.

We have discussed this theist doctrine in the *Mṛgendra Vṛtti Dīpikā*, and there it may be examined.

Favorer of all. Here "Favor" implies "creation and like activities" which means that He grants experience and liberation to all souls through the Five Functions—creation, maintenance, dissolution, concealment and grace [or favor].

[*Omniscient*] It is solely through His omnipotence that Śiva's omniscience is established, for an ignorant being cannot be a cause. Hence it is said:

He is omniscient because of His omnipotence. It is well established that only one who knows a thing along with the means for attaining it, its subsidiary factors, and its fruits, only such a one accomplishes it.

Such a *Śiva*, or Supreme Lord, is *victorious*, that is to say, is "preeminently existent" for the reasons given above.

Śiva's Glory

After thus praising the nature of the substrate Śiva, Bhoja, in the guise of a paean, declares the cohesive state of the quality inherent in that substrate—Śiva's power (or Glory):

2.

Victorious is Śiva's Glory, knowledge and action by nature.
It is free from Origination and Destruction, is immutable,
and it gives us release !

[*Free from Origination and Destruction.*] Through words connoting voidness of origination and destruction, Bhoja discloses the difference of the consciousness-natured Glory of Śiva from the Buddhist knowledge, conformable with those attributes.

'However, if, as Scripture says,
Consciousness is of the nature of knowledge and action, and
exists always in the souls,
what is the difference between the power of Śiva and that of the Souls ?'

In answer Bhoja says:

Immutable, and it gives us release. This is the distinction shown between His Glory and that of the souls—that the former is liberated by none, and that the latter is revealed through its liberation from Bond. To the question 'What then ?' Bhoja answers:

Victorious is Śiva's Glory, knowledge and action by nature, meaning thereby that solely because it has consciousness as its attribute, the Glory of Śiva is also of the nature of knowledge. As Scripture says:

The energy of a sentient being is not insentient.[1]

Śiva's Energy

Now Bhoja says that Energy alone is the instrument of Śiva even in the state of power.

3.

With all my being do I adore Her, the One, the First Energy, whose Essence is Consciousness,
Through whom Śiva is enabled to make the group of Beasts experience and be liberated.

It is only through the instrument in the form of Energy that Śiva becomes capable of the Fivefold Function in order that experience and liberation may result for the souls; never by an instrument different from that Energy.

'Is it not true that causality is never found in anyone devoid of corporeal faculties?'

No. For the soul, though devoid of them, is seen to possess power as regards its bodily movements by virtue of its Energy alone.

It has also been said:

But the instrument is not different from Energy.

The One. Bhoja indicates by this term that Her differences like will and beauty are figurative, not real, due as they are to different limiters such as knowables and effects. As Scripture says:

The Energy of Śiva is only one, but it becomes manifold because of limiters.

Whose Essence is Consciousness. Bhoja shows by this expression that in spite of the differences in the effects, the Energy does not undergo transformation, as does the Mirific Power, because transformation is a characteristic of an inert object.

The First means "primordial" or "inherently related." By this Bhoja indicates that Śiva also has a twofold Energy, external to Himself, which is in essence the Assumptive Energy, compris-

1. *Mṛgendra Āgama, Prakaraṇa* 3, v. 4, in Śastri, N. K. and K. M. S., *Śrī Mṛgendram*, p. 123.

ing Nucleus and the Mirific Power, since without a material cause the origination of the world is impossible. And as Bhoja shows [in verse 37 below], "there is no effect without an agent; nor yet without material and instrumental causes."

Prologue

Topics of the Treatise

Now Bhoja introduces the subject matter to be set forth in this manual:

4.

To be of service to mankind, with a mind full of compassion,
We concisely compose this work, *The Illumination of the Categories.*

Of the Categories. The meaning is that *The Illumination of the Categories*—categories such as [those beginning with] the earth and terminating with Śiva, their cause, and their beneficiaries, the souls—*is composed.*

The Triad of Categories

Bhoja mentions those "illuminations" [or categories] by name.

5.

The Triad, consisting of Lord, Beast, and Bond, in that order, is pre-eminent in the Śaiva Scriptures.
Of these, *Lord* is known as Śiva; *Beasts* as the Infinitesimal Conscious beings; and *Bond* as the Five Objects.

The words "of categories" should be supplied [after "The Triad"]. As the *Tantra Lakṣaṇa* says: "The Great Tantra comprises the three categories and the four sections." Hence, the other objects are included among them only, and Bhoja shows this by referring to their characteristics in the words:

Of these, Lord, and so on. Now "among these three categories," the category *Lord* is known as Śiva.

[*Śiva.*] Here the word "Śiva," singular term connotative of genus, signifies inclusion under the category "Lord," of beings endowed with the Śiva-nature; of the homologous "Śivas"—

the Incantations, the Incantation Lords, the Great Incantation Lords—furnished with the "energies" of liberated souls through the complex of salvific means, such as Initiation, capable of realizing the Śiva-nature itself.

Infinitesimal Conscious beings means the directed souls. The phrase indicates the fact that the bound souls —endowed with Beastliness and classified into varieties such as the Intelligence-Deconditioned—belong to the category Beast.

The Five Objects are Pollution, Energy of Concealment, Karma, the Mirific Power, and Nucleus. Then these Five Objects are [also] comprehended under the Category Bond, along with beings pertaining to the universe of categories arising from the material causes, Pure and Impure, and pure and impure in essence.

'How could the energy of Śiva be said to be one and yet be included under the Lord category and the Bond category?'

You are right. Absolutely speaking, Energy is included only under the category Lord. However, as it subserves the quality of Bond, it is metaphorically subsumed under that category, too. As the *Mṛgendra* says:

> From among them [the Five Objects] the Supreme Lord's Energy, the All favoring and the beneficent, is metaphorically termed "Bond," as it subserves its quality.[1]

The Released Souls

Let us grant that the released souls—lacking as they do any relation to the Bonds—possess the Śiva-nature. Then how is it that the Lords of Knowledge and others, even though they possess a body linked with the Nucleus, lack the state of Beast? In answer to this Bhoja says:

6.

> The Released Souls, too, are Śivas; however, they are released by His Favor.
> He, the one Eternally Released being, should be known as having a Body of the Five Incantations.

1. *Mṛgendra Āgama, Prakaraṇa* 6, v. 11, in Śāstri, N. K. and K. M. S., *Śrī Mṛgendram*, p. 206.

Released Souls are those who have attained equality with Śiva. *Too* indicates that the Lords of Knowledge and others are also Śivas, because they are free from the impurity known as Beastliness. However, to those who are associated with it, Beastliness belongs. As Scripture says:

A Beast is [what it is] through union with Beastliness.

[*Are Śivas.*] Hence, from their union with the Śiva-nature, through [attributes] like omniscience, that Śiva-nature is truly theirs. The union with a Nucleic body, however, is conditioned by Superintendence only, through the residue of a particle of [the pollution known as] the Superintendence Pollution. Hence, the attainment of the state of the Knowledges and Lords of Knowledge, as it transcends the Mirific Power and is free of Pollution, is a lower state of liberation.

'But how is it that the Śiva-nature belongs to the Incantation Lords notwithstanding their union with [impure Principles like] Aptitude ?

Because—owing to Śiva's direct grace—of their being related to attributes like omniscience, and to their freedom from Pollution. Their union with [limiting Principles like] Aptitude is through the conditioning by Rank, owing to the residuum of a particle of the Superintendence Pollution in the womb of Mirific Power [or springing from Mirific Power]. Also because such Principles are inevitable. As it is stated:

United though they are with Aptitude, they are not governable, as is a herd of cattle by rogues [khalānām].[1]

'Now if in this manner the released souls are equal in the Śiva-nature, what difference is there between them and the Supreme Lord ?'

To this Bhoja says:

However, they are released by His Favor. "They," the aforesaid Lords of Knowledge and others, [are released] through that Supreme God's grace. [As for Him] *He is the one eternally released being.*

1. Or it may be translated as follows : united though they are with Aptitude, they are not governable, as are Beasts (or Bound Souls) with their (individual) Aptitudes (*kalānām*).

Eternally Released is He who is endowed with eternal, immaculate and unexcelled perfections grounded in His essence, and also with the Energies of Knowledge and Action.

'But in scriptural texts we hear that even the Supreme Lord is linked with a body and organs, in texts like: "the five-faced one," "the fifteen-eyed one."

To this, Bhoja says:

Having a Body of Five Incantations. This is what his words mean: It is for the purpose of meditation alone that Scripture reveals forms like the five-faced one in God, as meditation and worship are impossible with regard to a formless being. As they say:

> You ought, according to ritual, to be worshipped as form-endowed; the mind does not attain to a formless object.[1]

Also as the *Pauṣkara Āgama* says:

> His form is declared as the worshipper's focus of attention.

The *Mṛgendra Āgama*, also, says:

> The body being existent, whatever act He performs—there His "body" is imitated by that created body.[2]

Hence, only the Five Energies like the Master—essentially of the nature of the Incantations and subservient to the Five Activities, performing as they do the functions of a body—are figuratively referred to as "body." As Scripture says:

> This body, comprising the head and other members, is constituted of the Five Incantations subservient to the Five Activities—as Master [*īśa*], The Original Spirit ([*tatpuruṣa*], the Non-Terrifying [*aghora*], the Lovely Lord [*vāma*] and the Unborn [*aja*].

The Pure Categories—(1) *Lord*

The Fivefold Activities

Consequently, Bhoja says:

1. Nārāyaṇakaṇṭha, "Mṛgendra Vṛtti," III.8, in *Śrī Mṛgendram*, p. 136.
2. This quotation is not found in the *Mṛgendra Āgama*.

7.

A Fivefold Cosmic Activity is attributed to the Ever-Free Śiva—

Creation, Maintenance, Dissolution, Obscuration, and the Impulsion of Grace.

This Fivefold Activity, in relation to the Pure Way, directly has Śiva as its cause; in relation to the Impure Way, however, its activity is referred to by means of Ananta and other gods. As the *Kiraṇa Āgama* says:

Śiva is named the agent in the Pure Way;
Ananta the Lord of the Impure Way.

Now Śiva's *direct* creation is out of a material cause that in essence is the Nucleus. Preceded by the origination of the worlds of the Pure Way, it consists in the conjunction of the Knowledges and the Lords of Knowledge inhabiting those worlds with the Mirific Power body, and in the production of Knowledge through Sound and other stages.

[His *indirect* creation] by means of Ananta and other gods is out of the material cause that is Mirific Power. Preceded by the origination of the worlds of the Impure Way, it consists in the conjunction of the assemblage of Beasts with the subtle Category Body, and, in accordance with their Karma, with the World Body, and in the production of the [gross] body, dependently on the supervision of the Supreme Incantation Lords.

Maintenance is the allocation of the whole world, subject to His control, in its proper situation.

Dissolution, on the other hand, is the withdrawal of the two classes of effects, pure and impure, into the Nucleus and the Mirific Power.

Obscuration is the providing of experience to souls in accordance with their past merits and demerits, through bestowing the favor [or Grace] of Bond.

Grace is also the providing of lower and higher liberation to the souls by the concealment of Bond.

'But Scriptures like the *Raurava Āgama* [in words such as]:

Effectors of creation, maintenance, dissolution, concealment, and grace

make the Knowledge and Knowledge Lords responsible for the Fivefold Activity. How then can it be limited to "the ever-free Śiva" alone?'

I answer that as it is through Śiva's superintendence that they are endowed with the Fivefold Activity, Scripture speaks of them as it does, and that consequently there is no contradiction at all.

The Pure Categories—(2) Beasts

Three Kinds of Beasts or Souls

Having spoken so far of the divisions of the Lord Category, Bhoja now sets forth the divisions of the category of Beast.

8.

Beasts, we must know, are of three kinds: Intelligence-Deconditioned, Dissolution-Deconditioned, and Conditioned.
Of these, the first are conjoined with Pollution; the second, with Pollution and Karma.

Of these. Among them the first class is called Intelligence-Deconditioned. They are that through the exhaustion of their karma, as "their karma is exhausted through knowledge, yoga, renunciation, or the experience of objects." They are conjoined solely with Pollution, since they do not have even Bonds, like Aptitude, which are for experiencing objects and karma. The second class is called Dissolution-Deconditioned. It is conjoined with Pollution and Karma through the destruction of categories like Aptitude at the time of dissolution.

9.

The Conditioned [Beast] is conjoined with Pollution, Mirific Power and Karma.
Among these [three kinds of Beast], the first kind [the Intelligence-Deconditioned soul] is twofold—one with contamination liquidated and the other with contamination unliquidated.

The Conditioned [Beast] is conjoined with the threefold Bond. As an immediate conjunction with the Mirific Power is lacking, it is the latter's effects, such as Aptitude, that are referred to by

the term "Mirific Power." Such a reference alone indicates the conditioned state of the soul. Then, even though there is the exhaustion of karma through Knowledge, the body continues to exist for a time on the strength of latent impressions. Thus we know from the Scriptures that there is also a type of Conditioned Soul which is conjoined with Pollution and Mirific Power. As the Sāṅkhyas say [in the words of Īśvarakṛṣṇa]:

> Perfect knowledge has been attained, and factors like virtue no longer function as causes: yet the embodied Spirit, impelled by previous impressions, continues as embodied, like a spinning potter's wheel [which spins awhile, from the potter's previous impulse, though the pot is now formed, *Sāṅkhya Kārikā*, v 67].

Among these [three kinds of Beast] the first class is the Intelligence-Deconditioned. It is again distinguished as twofold. What are the distinctions? In reply Bhoja says:

The first [*kind*]. As Pollution is a substance, and since it is inconscient, it reaches maturity like a cataract in the eye. The meaning is that the first [kind of Beast], namely the Intelligence-Deconditioned, becomes twofold through the difference of mature and immature Pollution. Of these two:

The Intelligence-Deconditioned Souls

10.

Favoring those of the first sort, Śiva endows Eight with the title of Lords of Wisdom.
He makes the others Incantations, and they number seventy million.

The First Sort, whose Pollution has matured, and who are fit for exercising power according to the degree of maturity of their Pollution. *Favoring those* through the removal of Pollution, He unites them with attributes like omniscience, and Nucleic body. He *endows Eight* of them whose particular contamination is fully matured with the status of Lords of Wisdom. He makes the latter, named Ananta, Sūkṣma, Śivottama, Ekanetra, Ekarudra, Trimūrti, Śrī-Kaṇṭha and Śikhaṇḍa the Supervisors of the Five

Activities, the controllers of the Pure Way, and dwellers in the Supreme Lord Category—such is Bhoja's meaning.

The Others, however, He makes Incantations, numbering seventy million communicators of grace, and makes them dwell in the Knowledge category. Such is Bhoja's meaning. One half of these—persisting as instruments in the work of grace, with regard to the Conditioned Soul, of Śiva in the preceptor's role—pass into liberation at the Great Dissolution. But the other half—reaching the state of instruments of a Śiva devoid of roles, with regard to the Intelligence-Deconditioned Soul, and to the Incantation Lord as supervisor of the Mirific Power nucleus—through renunciation of power, become liberated only after creation. As the *Mṛgendra Āgama* says:

> One half, in the Entire [or Pure] Way, connected with agents' bodies, after exercising its power, enters Śiva along with the Incantation Lords, when [the world's] maintenance terminates. The other half, lacking agency [in the world of] Matter's transformations, below, attains to what Śiva wills when its own Way is dissolved.

As the *Raurava Āgama* and other Scriptures relate,

> He unites with the supreme state those whose contamination is fully liquidated, and who have no concern with power. Others whose contamination is not yet liquidated are in the state of being Intelligence-Deconditioned until their contamination is liquidated.

The Dissolution-Deconditioned Souls

11.

Among the Dissolution-Deconditioned are those souls whose Pollution and Karma have become liquidated;
They enter [liberation]. Others [or they] furnished with bodies of eight constituents, enter all wombs under the impulse of their Karma.

Among the Dissolution-Deconditioned are those [*souls*] *whose Pollution* has matured, and through its maturing, all their *Karma* has also matured.

They enter—here supply the word—"liberation." This is because the maturing of Pollution, through the Energic Fulmination, is the cause of release. As the *Mṛgendra Āgama* says:

> When the control of the potency of darkness has been destroyed through its lapsing, Śiva, the friend of the world, reveals the unlimited nature of the soul's consciousness and action.

Or, as the *Svāyambhuva Āgama* also says:

> When Pollution is destroyed by knowledge, she (the Concealing Energy) will lead (the soul) towards the highest human end.

Others, however—whose Pollution has not matured—being *furnished with bodies, enter all wombs* essentially endowed with bodies originating in the world, *under the impulse of their karma* so as to experience the results of their past deeds. The association with previous activity is to be made here also. If the reading is *they...enter* rather than *others...enter*, then the text should be explained to mean that those furnished with eight-constituent bodies enter wombs. They would then conflict with the Scriptural texts quoted above. And the fact of the Pollution-mature souls themselves being liable to transmigration would lead to the fallacy of their liberation being unattainable.

The Subtle Body

What then are these eight constituents? Bhoja answers:

12.

> Eight-Constituent Bodies may be said to consist of the Inner Faculty, and the Faculties of Perception and Action.
> Favoring some, the Great Lord confers on them the lordship of the world.

Eight Constituent Bodies here means the Subtle Body, uncommon in constitution, formed of the thirty categories starting with the earth and ending with Aptitude. It is special to each soul, and endures from the beginning of creation till the end of an aeon or till liberation. As Scripture says:

> What subserves the soul's ends comprises [the categories]

from the Impeller [Aptitude] to the earth, and is special to each soul.[1]

The *Tattva-Saṅgraha*, too, says:

The group of categories beginning with the earth and ending with Aptitude, and special to each soul, transmigrates under the impulse of karma in bodies born in the several worlds.[2]

Hence the meaning of the verse is as follows: The term *Inner Faculty* which refers to Mind, Instinct and Egoism, also secondarily refers to other inner faculties in man which subserve him in the act of experience. These are the seven categories: Aptitude, Time, Necessity, Knowledge, Attachment, Matter, and Attributes.

Faculties of Perception indicate the five gross elements from earth to space, and their causes which are the five subtle elements, such as sound, that are to be grasped by the ascertaining of instinct.

Faculties is a word through which Bhoja refers to the faculties of knowledge and action.

'Do we not read in the *Kālottara Āgama*:

Sound, touch, color, taste, and smell as fifth, Instinct, Mind, and Egoism are referred to as the eight constituents?'

We do. And that is why Rāmakaṇṭha has interpreted this verse to mean the thirty categories.

'How then can that be said to be an Eight-Constituent Body?'

The Subtle Body is produced by [the following eight-constituents]: the five classes comprising (1) the gross and (2) subtle elements, (3) the faculties of knowledge and (4) the faculties of action, and (5) the Inner Faculty; (6) their cause the Attributes, (7) their "filler," Matter; and (8) the group consisting of the Five Sheaths such as Aptitude. There is thus no contradiction.

Now, among those Eight-Constituent Bodies the *Great Lord*, meaning the Great Incantation Lord, *favoring some*, that is to say,

1. *Mṛgendra Āgama, prakaraṇa* 12, v. 31, in Śāstri, K. N. and K. M. S., *Śrī Mṛgendram*, p. 340.
2. Sadyojyoti, "Tattvasaṅgraha", v. 25, in *AP*, 1.2.

favoring some of the fifty Lords of the World—such as those named the Mysterious, the Very Mysterious, the Most Mysterious, Holy and Immovable—supervised as they are by Ananta, and impure, according to Scripture; [favoring some], that is, by making exceptionally meritorious some of them as are conjoined with their manifested knowledge, action and atomic subtility. Such is Bhoja's meaning.[1]

The Conditioned Souls

13.

The remaining souls become the Conditioned Souls through linkage with categories such as Aptitude.
At the dawn of creation, He Himself makes a hundred and eighteen of them the Lords of Incantations.

Those *remaining souls* of matured Pollution, who—because that Pollution has not matured perfectly—are yet found along with others linked with transmigration: they are still apt for the exercise of power in the womb of Mirific Power, because their Pollution is slow in maturing. And they, at the start of creation, empowered with this exercise and *through linkage with categories such as Aptitude* [or "conditioning"], *become the "Conditioned" Souls.* Though united with these categories, they are [practically] free of Pollution, and are therefore called "the remaining souls."

How many are they? By whom are they appointed?

Bhoja answers:

A hundred and eighteen. Śiva, after freeing them from Pollution *Himself*, installs a hundred and eighteen of them as Lords of Incantations. The meaning is that they are not appointed by Ananta, as it has already been said:

Ananta is the cause of their union with categories like Aptitude; Ananta is the lord of Mirific Power.[2]

Bhoja classifies the hundred and eighteen:

1. Rāmakaṇṭha interprets '*sāñjana*' as '*samalān*' (those who are joined with pollution); see Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇakaṇṭha, "Mṛgendra Vṛtti", on III, 10, *Śrī Mṛgendram*, p. 150.
2. Aghoraśiva, *Mṛgendra Vṛtti Dīpikā*, in *Śrī Mṛgendram*, p. 253.

14.

Eight of these are called Circle Lords. Equal in number are gods like Krodha.
There are also Vīreśa, Śrīkaṇṭha and the Hundred Rudras—one hundred and eighteen in all.

Hundred Rudras. These support the whole cosmos. Here the *Eight...Circle Lords* are [a] those [eight gods] dwelling at the summit of the Aptitude Category—[Ananta, Goptṛ, Brahmaṇaḥpati, Dhruva, Teja and Bhuvaneśa (?)] Gahaneśa; [b] those gods, also eight in number, situated at the summit of the Attributes Category—gods like Krodha, [Caṇḍa, Saṃvartaka, Jyoti, Piṅgaśūraga, Pañcāntaka, Ekavīra and Śikheda], [c] *Vīreśa* or Vīrabhadara, the controller of the *hundred Rudras*; [d] *Śrīkaṇṭha*, dwelling in the Attribute Category, maker of the inferior worlds, and [e] *the Hundred Rudras*, supporters of the Brahmā Egg.

15.

Through the Fulmination of the Pollution-Dissolvent Energy, He links the souls whose Pollution has matured to the supreme end;
This He does through Initiation, taking the form of a Preceptor.

Here Śiva, in the midst of the triple-Bonded Conditioned Souls—*whose Pollution has matured* (literally fully [*pari* "around"] matured [*pakva*]); that is to say, Conditioned Souls *Whose Pollution* has "all round" or completely, through excess, matured; [Conditioned Souls] with the Obscuring Energy retracted, *and touched* by the Energy of Grace suppressive of the Bonds and other constrictions—that Śiva, *taking the form of a preceptor*, directs those souls *to the supreme end*, that is, an essential equality with Śiva, *through Initiation*.

The Conditioned, whose Pollution is less mature through a mildness in *the Fulmination of...Energy*, are placed in the rank of Lords of Wisdom. As Scripture says:

Those conscious beings whom Śiva, functioning as a preceptor, favors during maintenance, become participants of the

state of Rudra, of the Incantation Lords and of Īśāna [the Master].[1]

And elsewhere:

One who desires enjoyment in a particular world is united with that world, and one who desires supranormal powers attains them through incantations.

Hence the Intelligence-Deconditioned and Dissolution-Deconditioned attain Śiva's favor directly. Hence also as Pollution is a substance, like cataract in the eye, it is removed by a divine intervention, like Initiation, and not by mere knowledge.

As for the souls whose Pollution has not matured:

16.

Śiva makes the remaining bound souls experience the world in accordance with their Karma.
Thus has been set forth the nature of the Beasts.

The above is a repetition of what was said before.

Thus has been set forth the nature of the Beasts. With these words Bhoja concludes the classification of the category Beasts.

The Pure Categories—(3) Bond

Kinds of Bond

Bhoja now explains the divisions of the category Bond.

17.

The soul's Bonds are of four kinds—the first two marked by Pollution and Karma,
And the other two originating from Śiva's Mirific and Obscuring Energies.

'It was stated earlier [in Verse 5] that there are *five* kinds of Bonds [Pollution, Obscuring Energy, Karma, Mirific Power and

1. *Mṛgendra Āgama, prakaraṇa* 5, v. 3, in Śāstri, K. N. and K. M. S., *Śrī Mṛgendram*, p. 159.

Nucleus]; Is not the present talk of their being *fourfold* contradictory?'

Not at all. Although the Nucleus, in essence the Great Mirific Power, is a Bond with reference to supreme liberation, association with it belongs to the lower liberation, since it is the cause for the attainment of states such as that of the Lords of Knowledge. So in this sense it is not a Bond, and consequently, there is no contradiction.

Hence, Bhoja says:

[*Of the Soul*] meaning thereby that a Conditioned Soul is one who is affected by Pollution characterizing every human being. That is why Ananta and others who dwell in the Pure Way only have the twofold Bond in the form of the Great Mirific Power and the Obscuring Energy (or Power). And these, unlike the Mirific Power, are not deluding but rather illuminating. Thus everything is well explained.

'From Scripture's words—The Supreme Nucleus, known as Sound, abides in all things—Does it not follow that the Conditioned Soul is associated with the Nucleus' effects?'

Yes. But Scripture has also said that the same soul is not joined to a Nucleic body without the indispensable presence of attributes like omniscience.

'What are these bonds?'

Bhoja answers:

The first two marked by Pollution and Karma. Pollution and Karma themselves are figuratively spoken of as arising from Pollution and Karma because of the identity of cause and effect. Bhoja will refer to the definition of only these two in a subsequent verse. Furthermore, their respective cause and effect, obscuration and experience of objects, possessing as they do the character of fruit, are proved to be endowed with the nature of Bond.

(*The other two*). The above explanation is also applied to the expression: *originating from Śiva's Mirific and Obscuring Powers.*

The first two exist without beginning. Of these, Pollution conceals the omniscience and omnipotence of the soul from all eternity. Karma is also a beginningless enduring process, formed of the sequence of bodies arising from itself—on the analogy of seed and sprout [a sequence also] without beginning.

On the other hand, the Mirific Power-Bond, comprising Apti-

tude and other categories, is a contingent one, as it exists only when Karma does. And since, when it is absent, the Dissolution-Deconditioned Soul is linked with Pollution and Karma—the Bond nature of Śiva's Energy is spoken of metaphorically, as it is [really] the substrate of Bond and is concealed in the soul. We shall have more to say [of this below].

Pollution

Then Bhoja defines Pollution.

18.

One, but manifold in potency, Pollution, as we must know,
conceals the knowledge and action of the soul,
As husk does rice, or as verdigris, encrusted in copper.

Pollution [seems to be, in some fashion, one and manifold. It] is one. For though inconscient, it is eternal, while manifold inconscients would be non-eternal, as objects like pots. On the other hand, if Pollution is one, and if it is suppressed to achieve liberation in one soul, then universal liberation would follow.

To this, Bhoja says:

Manifold in potency. Pollution is endowed with manifold potencies, and conceals manifold souls. Hence with the maturing and liquidation of any one of these potencies, only the particular concealed soul will be liberated.

As husk does rice. Just as husk and rust are natural [respectively] to rice and copper through their "eternal" [or coincident] concealment of them, and are removed by subsequent cooking [in the case of rice] and the power of a solvent [in that of copper]—in the same way Pollution, the soul's eternal concealer, is removed. Or [to explain it in other terms] as the husk in rice is the cause of the origination of the shoot, in the same way the Pollution of the Soul is the cause of the origination of the body. Or else, as the rust of copper is removed by the power of a solvent, so also is Pollution removed by the power [or Energy] of Śiva. Instances like these are analogies of the soul, but are not identical in every detail.

Kinds of Pollution

19.

Karma is without beginning, made of merit and demerit, and varied.
Mirific Power is real in essence, the root of the universe, and eternal.

[*Karma is without beginning.*] The beginninglessness of Karma has been described on the analogy of a stream's beginninglessness [or unbroken continuity].

[.....*and varied.*] Its variety is because of a difference in the means [used to realize ends]—means being determined by factors like agents—and through the perception of results marked by differences of varied experience.

And indeed *Mirific Power is real in essence*, and not, as in [the doctrine of the Nondualist] Vedāntins, unreal in essence. It is *the root*, or material cause, *of the universe*, that is of the whole world —a universe generally qualified by categories like Aptitude; not generally qualified in its character as the world and similar systems; both [generally qualified and not qualified] in its aspect of Subtle Body; and impure in its character as [gross] world-generated body—for without material cause no effect can originate.

And Mirific Power is *eternal*, because of the ultimacy of its causality. For were it to be non-eternal [it would consist of non-ultimate causes and] there would be an infinite regress [in these causes, terminable only by the postulation of an ultimate cause]. Consequently it is known as being unique. This principle is also common to Nucleus, the material cause of the Pure Way.

'In the verse enunciative of the topic (17) the Mirific Power [or Mirific] Energy was indicated as having the nature of Bondage. But here the definition of Mirific Power is given. Is this not an inconsistency?'

Your reasoning is correct. Mirific Power by itself lacks the power to bind; as here it is its effect [which possesses this power] that is indicated. But as effect is dependent on cause, the definition of cause is indicated in the present verse. As for the effect, because it is extensive, its character will be indicated later. There is thus no inconsistency.

Thus far Bhoja has directly described the threefold Bond by showing that the state of bondage for the Energy is only figurative. He concludes this section in the following verse:

Obscuring Energy

20.

Because it favors bondage, the Energy of Śiva which obscures the souls is called Bond.
So the Bond is fourfold.

Bond in the Pure Way

Having so far spoken of the triple Bond that relates to the Conditioned, and of the Concealing Energy that relates to the other two [kinds of Beast], Bhoja goes on to speak of the Bond that is in essence the Pure Way, and that relates to what transcends the Mirific Power.

21.

The Pure categories are five. The Ancient Preceptors declare the first among them to be the Śiva Category
[And the others as] Energy, the Ever-Beneficent, the Supreme Lord and Knowledge.

Pure refers to the pure categories.

'Are they eternal or non-eternal? If eternal, there will be conflict with creation [which is non-eternal]. If non-eternal, what is their material cause?'

In answer Bhoja says:

The Ancient Preceptors declare...among them the first category, the Nucleic-natured *Śiva Category* to be the principal Material cause. It has been said that its eternity has been proved from the fact of its being [in its own order] the ultimate material cause, as Mirific Power [is the same in *its* order]. The implication is that the other four categories [Energy, the Ever-Beneficent, the Supreme Lord and Knowledge] are its effects.

What Bhoja intends is as follows. According to Revelation, categories like Knowledge are not inconsonant with the notion of effectness [in other words, these categories are conceivable as

effects] because their ingress into the varied worlds is characterized by a beginning. Also, the beings inhabiting those worlds are linked with bodies. In consequence, the cause of these categories is demonstrated to be, in essence, the Great Mirific Power itself. If it is argued [in the words of Scripture, that the Great Mirific Power]

> is the material cause of the bodies possessed by the Knowledges and the Knowledge Lord

it is also revealed that this Nucleus is the material cause of the Incantations and Mystic Formulas through the medium of Sound:

> The Sound of Energy will be, and from it [will emerge] the Syllable and the Letters.

So far Bhoja has demonstrated the Śiva Category which is in essence the Nucleus. [It may now be asked:] 'What indeed are those four effects?'

And Bhoja replies:

Energy, the Ever-Beneficent, etc. [that is to say, *the Supreme Lord and Knowledge*].

The Impure Categories

The preceding section has referred to the pure categories by number and by name. The section that follows treats of the impure categories in the same manner.

Bond in the Impure Way

22.

> To ensure ignorance and activity in the soul, a pentad of categories issues from Mirific Power—
> Time and Necessity, as well as Aptitude, Knowledge and Attachment.

To ensure the ignorance and activity, that is, to stabilize the qualities of ignorance and action *in the soul*, the bound self, *a pentad of*

categories, such as Time and the rest, *issues from Mirific Power*, directly and in sequence. As Bhoja will discuss [below], the category known as Spirit will emerge, by reason of his experience, linked with the Five Sheaths, arising from a connection with the Pollution of Soulness [or the human condition].

The Impure Categories and the Evolutes

Moreover,

23.

From Mirific Power also emerges the Unmanifest, which is the category of the three Attributes:
And after it Instinct and Egoism; the Mind, the Faculties of Perception and Action, and the Elements, Subtle and Gross.

The faculties of perception and action or the faculties of knowledge and the faculties of action. There are twenty-five categories beginning with the Unmanifest. We shall explain later how these categories originate sequentially from Mirific Power. Here we speak of them in the context of definition.

Of these:

Relationship Between the Impure Categories

24.

Twenty-three categories originate from Prime Matter for the experience of the soul—
Because of which there is actually no total difference between Matter and the Attributes.

'What are the different functions of these categories? Which ones directly originate from Prime Matter? Which ones originate through separation from other categories?'

We shall explain all this later.

[There is a contradiction here.] In the words [of verse 23], "From Impure Matter also emerges the Unmanifest," and so on, twenty-four categories were said to be subsumed under Matter [1. Matter, 2. Instinct, 3. Egoism, 4. Mind, 5-9. Five Perceptual Faculties, 10-14. Five Motor Faculties, 15-19. Five

Gross Elements, 20-24. Five Subtle Elements]. Then how is it now said that there are twenty-three?

In reply Bhoja says:

There is actually no total difference between Matter and the Attributes. Since the Sāṅkhyas conclude that the Attributes themselves constitute Matter, we, in order to invalidate their position, argue that, as these Attributes are inconscient and manifold—as objects like pots are—there is need for another cause [that is the Attributes' foundation]. We thus prove that Matter exists. Accordingly, we make this assertion that ["twenty-three categories originate from Prime Matter," and so omit Prime Matter from our present list of categories] to show that there is no difference between cause [Matter] and effects [subsumed categories]. There is thus no contradiction.

The Illumination of Categories means the knowledge of the categories, that is to say, the explanation of the true nature of all the categories.

Conclusion

The noble Bhoja Deva, the king who sees in his mind the complex of categories as clearly as one sees a myrobalan in one's hand, wrote this incomparable work, *The Illumination of Categories*, replete with the essence of the Śaiva Āgamas.

The Commentator

Requested by the prominent devotees of Śiva, the text of *The Illumination of Categories* has been commented upon with consideration in a lucid and brief manner by that Aghoraśiva who has acquired a high proficiency in commenting upon the Śaiva Āgamas, who brings about the true import of the words that are ordinarily used, who is intelligent and intent upon teaching what has been learned by him.

Here ends the commentary on *The Illumination of Categories*, written by Aghoraśiva, the Teacher of Two Lakhs of Pupils.

Chapter V

A COMPARISON BETWEEN SOME CATHOLIC AND SIDDHĀNTA DOCTRINES

Introduction

One of the centers of Catholicism in India is the Tamil country, also the stronghold of the Siddhānta. There the Catholic Church has had a longer history[1] than the Protestant denominations, and also the largest number of adherents among the area's various Christian bodies. Catholicism therefore would be the obvious choice in comparing the Siddhānta with any non-Indic faith.

Historical co-existence and numbers of adherents are a good basis for a dialogue—but an incomplete one, unless supplemented by a compatibility between the dialoguing traditions. This compatibility fortunately exists. Both Catholic and Siddhānta theologies are comparable in sophistication, ecumenicity, their use of logic and metaphysics and their involvement in identical problems. Many themes could be made the basis for the comparison, as, for instance, the theology of Comparative Religion itself—that is, the theory of the salvific status of various religions as compared with the one faith believed to possess primacy over the others.[2] In this chapter, however, we shall limit ourselves to the following three interrelated topics.

First, *the co-existence of divine transcendence and phenomenal reality*. As we said in the Introduction, theologians have had to address themselves to the problem of divine omniperfection as related to creaturely existence, for the eternal self-subsistence of the one seems to obliterate the contingent individuality of the other. And obliterating that individuality is precisely what some

1. However, Christianity appears to have existed in India from Apostolic times, being evangelized by the Apostles Thomas and Bartholomew. See George Mark Moraes, *A History of Christianity in India* (Bombay: Manaktalas, 1964), particularly chapters I and II.

2. See above, pp. 48-49.

theologies have done, by declaring the origin and diversification of the world to be an illusion (through a transmogrification) and not a reality (originant through a transformation), either of the divine conscient substance, or of an extra-divine inconscient one; or else through a *creatio ex nihilo*.

Both the Siddhānta and Catholicism share this metaphysical problem, but the latter has an application of the problem that is peculiarly its own—in that the coexistence of divine transcendence and phenomenal reality is linked with the specifically Christian teachings of the Incarnation and the Trinity. For orthodox Christian thinking, Christ had to be both the impassible God and a passible man at once. He could not just have been a true man and not God at all (as the Nestorians claimed), or just the true God and an illusory man (as the Gnostics and Monophysites asserted). Furthermore, Christ was the God that died, and so could not be the same as the God Who did not die (and Whom the Christians called the Father). But the Monarchians and the Sabellians questioned this, thus denying an intrinsic plurality in God.

Second, whether *the existence of phenomenal reality derives from a plurality in God*, and conversely, whether *the existence of the divine plurality entails the existence of phenomenal reality*.

It must be remarked at the outset, that the sense of the phrases "existence of phenomenal reality" and "divine plurality" differs in the Siddhānta and Catholic theologies. For the latter, "phenomenal reality" (as we mentioned in the Introduction) is intrinsically null, and existent solely through dependence on divine causality, produced as the creature is *ex nihilo*.[1] For the Siddhānta, the substantial *entity* of Beast or Bond is not caused by God, but only their several modes of existence. These modes, preexistent in the material cause (the substantial entity) are the latter's "effects."

1. "Illa autem particula, *ex nihilo*, ut distinguat hanc actionem ab aliis, excludit omnem concursum causae materialis, et dependentiam rei, quae creatur, ab aliquo subjecto....atque ita distinguitur haec actio ab illa, quae est per eductionem de potentia subjecti. Hac namque duae actiones adaequate dividunt omnem efficientiam; et ideo sicut per illam particulam sufficienter distinguitur creatio ab actione, ita etiam per illam explicatur ratio creationis." Suárez, *Disputationes Metaphysicae*, disp. 20, sect. 1, num. 1. in *Opera Omnia* Vivès ed. vol. 25, p. 745.

As for "divine plurality," three kinds are relevant to our discussion—the dyadic or binitarian, the triadic or trinitarian, and the pentadic or quinitarian. We shall now briefly indicate how the teachings of Bhoja and Aghora, and Catholic Scholastic theology, respond to the second topic. The two Siddhāntins do so affirmatively, but in different senses, while Scholasticism responds only negatively.

For, in Bhoja's teaching, the existence of phenomenal reality derives from a *pentadic* plurality in God; and conversely this plurality exists as such in order to render salvific activity possible in the phenomenal world; or, in Bhoja's words, "to favor the conscious and unconscious."[1]

In Aghora's teaching, the existence of phenomenal reality derives from a *dyadic* plurality in God, constituted by an Energizer-Energy binary, the Energizer representing the Divine Absolute and Energy the Divine Relative. We might even say that the binary represents the Divine Static (Energizer) and the Divine Dynamic (Energy). Conversely, the existence of that dyadic plurality appears to necessarily entail the existence of the universe. The latter is dependent on Śiva's Five Functions, delegated to the semi-divine beings,[2] known as the Knowledge Lords, but superintended by Śiva through His Primordial Energy.

1. *TP*, 14.

2. Such a delegation of divine creative power to angelic beings was sought to be introduced into Catholic theology by some Christian thinkers influenced by Muslim thought, but was successfully confuted by William of Auvergne (c. 1180-1249). The most outstanding Muslim theologian to uphold the need for these intermediaries was Avicenna. Speaking of "these separate Intelligences, the Archangels," Corbin, the historian of Islamic philosophy, maintains that "in the Avicennan view," they are "eternally established in being, by virtue of an inner necessity that their own being receives from the First Being... They are the necessary mediators between the [divine] world of being that is eternally in the imperative...and the world of creatural being..." And then, referring to the success of Auvergne's critique, Corbin continues: "All this is now done away with. There are neither mediations nor degrees in Creation. God alone is cause, freely and immediately, of the totality of beings. The vision of a pleroma of beings of light, deriving their dignity... and their mediatory and creative function from the inner necessity of their being, is replaced by the vision that preserves only a hierarchy caused by the free will of the Creator and levels every other elevation in the interest of a uniform

In Catholic Scholastic teaching, on the other hand, the existence of phenomenal reality derives from the divine unity, not plurality. It is true that God is innately *triadic*, but "the activities of the Trinity outside itself are undivided."[1] Conversely, the existence of this triadic plurality does not entail the existence of the universe. The Trinity is entirely transcendent, constituted without any necessary relation to the world. Such a relation only accidentally supervenes the Trinity's intrinsic constitution. As for the world, it is entirely contingent, and might never have existed.

Third, whether *the intra-divine plurality is essentially dyadic, triadic or pentadic.*

Aghora's Siddhānta affirms it to be *dyadic*, Energizer-Energy, the distinction between them being like that of a substance and its attribute or mode.[2] Catholic theology also, in a sense, predicates a dyadic structure to God's being, between its absolute and relative aspects, for the Godhead is *una rese vere absoluta et vere relativa*,[3] in the words of Suárez. Though according to most Scholastics the distinction between these aspects is a conceptual

service of the Omnipotent. Here again we see the assertion of a monotheistic idea that could not but react in this way in the presence of any cosmos hierarchized in accordance with the Neoplatonic and Gnostic type." Henri Corbin, *Avicenna and the Visionary Recital* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1960), pp. 106-107.

1. "multa praedicata....dicuntur de divinis personis ex tempore, ut creare, dominari, esse creatorem, Dominum, et similia; tamen haec....non conveniunt personis ratione proprietatum, sed ratione unius naturae, et ita omnibus inseparabiliter conveniunt....Ex quibus sumptum est illud Catholicum dogma, *Opera Trinitatis ad* extra sunt indivisa." Suárez, *De Sanctissimo Trinitatis Mysterio*, lib. 12, introductio, in *Opera Omnia*, Vivès ed., 1:794.

2. The divinity "is a unity of Śiva and Śakti by reason of their implicit union as substance and quality, like sun and sunlight" (Meykandar, *Śivajñanabodham* I.4.a. [Matthews, p. 37]). Schomerus explains : "..as the rays of the sun are similar in essence to the sun, and are associated with the sun without being identical with it due to a certain independence which they possess...., so is the Śakti of Śiva similar in essence to Śiva, and is associated with Śiva without being identical with Him and is different from Śiva." Schomerus, p. 68. In Śaiva Siddhānta , substance is an aggregate of attributes, not a separate reality; see Śrīkaṇṭha, *Ratnatraya*, v. 288, in *AP*, 2.1.

3. Suárez, *lib.* 4, *cap.* 4, *num.* 19, Vivès ed., 1:628. "One reality, truly absolute and truly relative."

one, others, like the Nominalist Durandus, affirm it to be a real distinction, as between a substance and its mode.[1] The absolute (or "static") aspect of God, for Scholastic thinkers generally, constitutes the divine nature or essence, the relative (or "dynamic"), the Three Persons really distinct from one another, but not from the essence. They are all subsistent relations, that is, embodiments of God's relational aspect, so to speak; but their relationship is exclusively mutual or intra-divine, having no necessary reference to extra-divine reality. At all events the triadic nature of intra-divine plurality, as the Scholastics see it, logically derives from a conceptually dyadic structure.

This is Scholastic doctrine in its final form. But Catholic theology did not always proclaim a divine Triad, because the full deity of the Third Person, the Holy Spirit, was not clearly affirmed before Athanasius in the late fourth century. For a long time Christian orthodoxy, while employing Trinitarian formulas, really confessed to a divine Dyad, the Father, and the Logos, identified with the Holy Spirit and incarnate in the man Jesus. At this early stage of its development, Catholic theology advanced ideas paralleled in classical Siddhānta thought.

However, from the days of the great Cappadocian fathers of the fourth century, Christian orthodoxy has unwaveringly adhered to a divine Triad or Trinity, one absolute essence subsistent in three persons: the first ingenerate, the second generated, and the third proceeding from both (in Roman Catholic belief).

Finally, Bhoja's Siddhānta and Triadism affirm intra-divine plurality to be *pentadic*. This is rejected, as we have often seen, by Aghora, by his removing the Five Pure Principles from the Godhead and his consigning them to the unconscious Nucleus. A divine pentad is also unacceptable to Christian orthodoxy. But the Triadic Pentad—comprising the Energies of Joy, Consciousness, Will, Knowledge and Action—can be rearranged on a model somewhat analogous to the Catholic. For the Triadists, the Energies of Joy and Consciousness constitute the absolute essence of the deity, so to speak, largely devoid of relationship to phenomenal being. On the other hand, the Energies of Will,

1. *Ibid., lib.* 4, *cap.* 4, *num.* 2. Vivès ed., 1:624: "prima sententia.... affirmat....personam et essentiam habere in re ipsa aliquam distinctionem actualem....qualis esse solet inter rem et modum rei....Ita plane sentit Durandus."

Knowledge and Activity embody the relationship of the divine to the phenomenal, thus constituting the deity's relative aspect. But it would be unwise to proceed further from this point and attempt to equate the Three Persons of Christianity with the Three Energies of Triadism, especially as, of the two Triads, only the Trinity excludes all reference to phenomenal being.

Divine Transcendence and Phenomenal Reality

These doctrinal positions represent crystallizations of theological thinking in their particular traditions. But they cannot be appreciated except in the context of their total conceptual evolution. The previous pages included an endeavor to assess this evolution in Siddhānta thought. In the following pages we shall emphasize the evolution of the Christian ideas which we believe are comparable to those of the Siddhānta, previous to attempting an actual comparison.

We may begin by remarking that formal similarities in modes of thought, which may be called thought "models" or "archetypes," are not seldom the result of diverse motives and concerns—a fact which (if true) no doubt indicates the polyvalence and fecundity of the models themselves. Whether or not it will be agreed that our two theologies employ similar or identical models, there can be little question that the supposed agreement in these presumed models derives from diverse religious motives. Thus the Early Church's dominant motive was undoubtedly faith in Jesus, who was called "God,"[1] the Christians being convinced that their salvation had been won by God himself.[2] The evolution of this belief into a confession of the Trinity and the dogma of the person of Christ was conditioned by the central question in the minds of the Apostolic Fathers and Apologists: "Is Jesus identical with the Supreme God or is he a demi-god?"[3] That

1. Novatian, *On the Trinity* 13.71, in H. Weyer, ed. Novatian. *De Trinitate* (Düsseldorf: Patmos-Verlag, 1962), p. 98.

2. I Corinthians 16-22; *Martyrdom of Polycarp* 17.2-3, in Cyril C. Richardson, *Early Christian Fathers* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1970), p. 155. These highlight the early church's beliefs and teachings on Jesus.

3. Jaroslav Pelikan, *The Christian Tradition*, 5 vols. Vol. 1: *The Emergence of the Catholic Tradition* (100-600) (Chicago: University of Chicago Press,

question occasioned the controversy, on the one hand, about the unchangeability of God's nature, and on the other, about the reality of the suffering and death of Jesus, confessed to be "God."[1]

The real issue is whether God, transcendent and one, can be immanent and many. "How," queried Athanasius, "is it possible for someone not to err with regard to the incarnate presence (of the Son) if he is altogether ignorant of the generation of the Son from the Father?"[2] The mystery of the Incarnation was thus believed to be linked not only with the doctrine of the absoluteness of God's nature, but also with that of a coincident intra-divine plurality, the mystery of the Trinity. Of the attempts to reconcile divine impassibility and human passibility, some (like the Gnostic) denied the reality of the Incarnation, and others (like the Monarchian and Sabellian), that of the Trinity.

Some Christian Heterodox Views

One of the main characteristics of the Gnostic teaching was the denial that the Savior was possessed of a material, fleshly body. The Marcionites, citing the words "likeness of sinful flesh" from Romans 8.3, protested against the concept of Christ as a man with a material, suffering body.[3] Ptolemy, like most other Christian Gnostics, held that the Savior "remained impassible, for it [His body] could not experience passion, since it was unconquerable and invisible; therefore when he (Christ) was led before Pilate, that Spirit of Christ set in him was taken away.... What suffered was (only) the psychic Christ."[4] According to Ireneus, the Gnostic Basilides held that Simon of Cyrene was

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1971), p. 172. The translations of original texts, unless otherwise indicated, are from Pelikan's book.

1. Tertullian of Carthage, *Against Marcion* 5.14.1, in *Corpus Christianorum. Series Latina*, vols. 1-2. (Turnhout, Belgium, 1954), 1:705. (Hereafter cited as *CCSL*); Ignatius of Antioch, *Letter to the Trallians* 9, in Richardson, p. 100. These show the nature of the earliest controversy on the claim that he who was God suffered.

2. Athanasius of Alexandria, *Orations against the Arians* 1.8, in Migne, *PG*, 26:28.

3. Tertullian, *Against Marcion* 5.14.1, in *CCSL*, 1-705.

4. Ireneus of Lyons, *Against Heresies* 1.7.2, in W. W. Harvey, ed., *Sancti Irenaei....Adversus Haereses*, 2 vols. (Cambridge: typis academicis, 1857), 1:61-62.

crucified instead of Jesus, who did not and could not undergo death; for salvation pertained only to the soul not to the body.[1] The overt assertion of the Gnostics was that "his suffering was a sham."[2]

The Gnostic denial of the reality of the Incarnation was paralleled by a denial of the Trinity, upheld by a sect known as Dynamic Monarchianism. The term "monarchian" designated those who protected the "monarchy" of the Godhead (from division) by stressing the identity of the Son with the Father without specifying the distinction between them.[3] Noetus and Praxeas, followers of this school, making use of only one class of passages from Scripture, namely, those which made no distinction between the Father and the Son, contended:

> there exists one and the same Being, called Father and Son according to the changing times; and that this One is he that appeared (to the Patriarchs), and submitted to birth from a virgin, and conversed as man among men. On account of his birth that had taken place he confessed himself to be the Son to those who saw him, while to those who could receive [the fact] he did not hide...that he was the Father.[4]

According to this Dynamic Monarchian theory creation and salvation were the work of one and the same God, who, according to the mode and time of His appearing, could be called Father or Son or Holy Spirit.

Sabellianism is another version of this theory. Sabellius (ca. 217) is said to have introduced a more subtle language than that of Noetus and Praxeas by positing a more precise succession of the manifestations of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. He was quoted as saying: "As there are 'diversities of gifts, but the same Spirit' (I Cor. 12:4), so also the Father is the same, but expanded into Son and Spirit."[5] According to Epiphanius, the Sabellians defended the oneness of God, saying:

1. *Ibid.*, 1.24.4-5 in Harvey, 1:200-201.
2. Ignatius, *Letter to the Trallians* 10, in Richardson, p. 100.
3. Tertullian, *Against Praxeas* 31, in *CCSL*, 2:1161.
4. Hippolitus of Rome, *Against Noetus* 3, in Migne, *PG*, 10 : 805.
5. Epiphanius of Salamis, *Against Eighty Heresies* 62.2.6 quoted in Pelikan, p. 179.

> Do we have one God or three? If one, then the words of Isaiah 44:6 applied also to Christ: "Thus says the Lord, the King of Israel and his Redeemer, the Lord of Hosts: 'I am the first and the last; besides me there is no God.' "[1]

Sabellius conceived this one God as Sonfather. He described God as light, and the Son of God as radiance. As an analogy for his Trinity, he used the image of the sun as one essence with three energies (the light-giving, the warming, and the astrological). However, as Pelikan remarks, the effort of Sabellius to clarify the relation between Christ and God the Father seems to have foundered at the very place its *bête noire*, the pluralistic speculation of Marcion and Gnostics did: the crucifixion and death of one who was called God.[2] In other words, the ambiguity remained: how can God be impassible and yet suffer and die?

Christian Orthodoxy

The teaching of Sabellius utterly contradicted the orthodox assertion that God the Father was free of the changes and sufferings that characterize human life and feeling.[3] Among the thinkers of the Alexandrian and Antiochian Schools no one wanted to jeopardize or compromise the definition of God as impassible and unchanging. Athanasius (ca. 296-373), bishop of Alexandria, considered God as standing in need of nothing, since He "is self-sufficient and filled with himself." It was "a principle of natural philosophy that that which is single and complete is superior to those things that are diverse."[4] One of the ways by which Didymus the Blind defended the divinity of the Holy Spirit was by maintaining that God (the Spirit) had to be "impassible, indivisible, and immutable."[5] Cyril of Alexandria dismissed as "madness" any suggestion that the Logos, as God, could be transformed.[6] Confronted by the statement of such

1. Pelikan, p. 179.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 180.
3. This concept of impassibility, according to Pelikan, is an effect of the continuing dominance of Greek thought on the development of Christian doctrine; Pelikan, p. 52.
4. Athanasius, *Contra Gentes* 39, in Migne, *PG*, 25:77.
5. Didymus of Alexandria, *On the Holy Spirit* 9, in Migne, *PG*, 39:1041.
6. Cyril of Alexandria, *De incarnatione unigeniti* in *Sources chrétiennes* (Paris: Cerf, 1964), 97 : 208. (Hereafter cited as *SC.*)

passages in the Psalms as "Lord, thou hast *become* our refuge" (Ps. 90:1) and, "If the Lord had not become our helper....." (Ps. 94:22), Cyril asked whether this meant that God had ceased being God and had become something that He had not been in the beginning. Cyril answered in the negative, for "being unchangeable by nature, he always remains what he was and ever is, even though he is said to have 'become' a refuge."[1] Elsewhere Cyril amplified this metaphysical contrast between the nature of the Creator and that of the creatures. On the one hand, the nature of God was firmly established, maintaining its unchangeable permanence: "it was characteristic of created existence, on the other hand, to be given over to time and therefore to be subject to change." Anything that had a beginning had changeability implanted within it. "But God, whose existence transcends all reason and who rises above all beginning and all passing away, is superior to change." Quoting Baruch 3:3 (LXX): "Thou art enthroned for ever, and we are perishing for ever," Cyril concluded that the divine could not be changed by any time, or shaken by any sufferings, while created nature was incapable of being endowed with essential immutability.[2]

The purpose of Cyril's insight into the absoluteness and immutability of God, as the above statements suggest, is to deal with the mystery of the Logos.[3] Any talk of the presence of the divine Logos in the nature of the flesh had to leave divine immutability unimpaired, as "he (the Logos) also had in his own nature eternity and immutability." Even in the incarnation this attribute of His nature could not be set aside as He remained impassible in the nature of His deity, while He took flesh that could suffer.[4]

The Antiochian thinkers also devoted much attention to divine impassibility. Theodore of Mopsuestia said: "it is well known... that the gulf between (the eternal One and a temporal one) is unbridgeable."[5] He represented the Logos as saying that "It

1. Cyril of Alexandria, *That Christ is One* in *SC*, 97:312-14. The biblical passages are from the Septuagint.
2. Cyril of Alexandria, *De incarnatione unigeniti* in *SC*, 97:208.
3. Pelikan, p. 230.
4. Cyril of Alexandria, *De incarnatione unigeniti* in *SC*, 97:208, 290.
5. Theodore of Mopsuestia, *Catechetical Homilies* 4.6 in *Studi e testi* (Rome: Tipografia Vaticana, 1900-), 145:83. (Hereafter cited as *ST*.)

is impossible that I myself should be destroyed, as my nature is indestructible, but I will allow this (body) to be destroyed, because such a thing is inherent in its nature."[1] And again, "it is known that variety belongs to creatures and simplicity to the divine nature."[2]

Apollinaris summarized the Christian orthodox position when he asserted that "anyone who introduces passion into the divine power is atheistic."[3] Thus we see that the Christian thinkers with firm affirmation upheld the absolute and unchanging nature of God. However, it must not be imagined that the "unchangeable" meant the same thing as the "static" to these thinkers.[4] Marius Victorinus, the fourth century Latin theologian, and critic of the Arian heresy, thought of

> the Deity as essentially concrete and active; God is eternally in motion, and in fact His *esse* is equivalent to *moveri*. In relation to the contingent order this movement takes the form of creation, while in relation to the Word it is generation.[5]

Siddhānta Parallels

Confronted with the tremendous problem of the relationship of the transcendent and the phenomenal, Orthodox Christianity's response was audacious, as contrasted with the more cautious one of the emanationists. This is true as regards the Incarnation as creation. We saw in the Introduction how emanationism maintains that the abyss between God and creation cannot be crossed except in stages, while Christianity holds it to be instantaneously spanned by an act of omnipotence in the *creatio ex nihilo*. We also saw how, in Christianity's estimation, this act at once establishes divine transcendence and immanence,

1. *Ibid.*, 8.6 in *ST*, 145:195.
2. *Ibid.*, 9.8 in *ST*, 145:245.
3. Apollinaris of Laodicea, *Detailed Confession of Faith* 12, in H. Lietzmann, ed., *Apollinaris von Laodicea und seine Schule* (Tubingen: J. C. B. Mohr [P. Siebeck], 1904), p. 171.
4. Yet, certain thinkers, like the processist A. N. Whitehead, perhaps insufficiently versed in Christian theology and its history, attribute to Christianity "the concept of an entirely static God, with eminent reality, in relation to an entirely fluent world, with deficient reality." A. N. Whitehead, *Process and Reality* (New York: Harper, 1960), p. 526.
5. Kelly, p. 270.

and the creature's reality; in other words, how the divine creative act, which establishes a mediation between the extremes of transcendence and phenomenality, affirms both at once. As Maximus the Confessor, one of the masterminds of Christian orthodoxy, remarks: "it is not in denying the extremes that one establishes a mediation between them."[1]

So too with the Incarnation, the extremes here being the impassible and changeless divinity and the passible and changing humanity. Heterodoxy tended to deny one or the other, but for Christian orthodoxy, a union of extremes, such as that of the Incarnation, both affirms and confirms their reciprocal difference.[2] This union, the highest possible between the transcending and the phenomenal "is not realized in spite of the persistent difference between God and the creature, but in it and through it."[3] Yet, the Incarnation does not dispel the transcendent incomprehensibility of God, but rather increases it. For it is easy to understand a transcendence that remains so through avoiding all contact with the polluting phenomenal world; it is less easy to understand a transcendence that remains so while in intimate contact with that same world. As Maximus says, without the Incarnation "the creature would never have attained the Creator whose nature is infinite and unattainable."[4] Yet the hypostatic union does not demean God, but rather "exalts [created] nature, in transforming it, into a new mystery and itself remains absolutely unattainable." For

> His Incarnation is a mystery more inconceivable than any other mystery. In becoming incarnate, He has made Himself comprehensible to the extent that He has appeared as incomprehensible. He has remained hidden after this epiphany, or...*in* this epiphany. Although expressed, He remains inexpressible, although known, He remains the Unknown.[5]

The Christian problem was thus one of implicating the Godhead in the world without compromising Its transcendence. In

1. Maximus the Confessor, *Ambigua*, in Migne, *PG*, 91:1056D.
2. *Ibid.*, 1056A.
3. Hans Urs von Balthasar, *Liturgie cosmique* (Paris: Aubier, 1947).
4. Maximus, Ambigua, in *Expositio Psalmi* 59, in *PG*, 90:868AB.
5. Maximus, *Ambigua*, in *PG*, 91:1048D-1049A.

another sense, this was Aghora's problem too. But his approach was more cautious, in the emanationist manner, though he rejected Bhoja's incipient emanationism precisely because it seemed to him to compromise divine transcendence. Applying the principle that what is unconscious transforms, he voided Bhoja's Pentad, or the Five Pure Principles, of divinity, and consigned them to the unconscious Nucleus. His own Godhead was the dyadic Energizer-Energy, which was not formed of transformations like Bhoja's Pentad, but was an eternally coincident binary. Yet divine transcendence was not wholly uncompromised. Bhoja's Pentad emanates for the sake of extra-divine beings. Aghora's Primordial Energy does not emanate from Energizer, the Divine Absolute, but is His eternal Consort. Yet She is the Divine Relative, but Her relational character is not so much intra-divine (as in the Trinity) as it is extra-divine, oriented to the world, that is, to the Categories of Beast and Bond.

This is where Aghora's cautious approach helped him find a solution. Śiva and His Primordial Energy are related to the impure world not directly, but through intermediaries—these intermediaries being entities eternally and independently subsistent, and not devolving emanations. Śiva's Five Functions are executed by semi-divine or angelic beings, the Lords of Knowledge, though under His superintendence. The Primordial Energy relates to the world through an intermediary potency, the Assumptive Energy, itself of dual aspect, pure and impure. Its pure aspect, the Great Mirific Power or Nucleus, refers to the Godhead more directly. Its impure aspect, the Mirific Power or the Serpentine Energy, relates to the Godhead only through Nucleus.

On the basis of this complex cosmology Aghora rejects the two theories of the evolution of the cosmos that negate one or other of the "extremes," transcendence and phenomenality. Transmogrificationism (and Gnosticism) endeavoring to preserve transcendence, deny the reality of the phenomenal; Transformationism (and Sabellianism) striving to preserve the latter, appear to jeopardize transcendence.

For Transmogrificationism, the so-called becoming transformation of the Brahman into the shape of the world, as clay into the shape of a pot, is an illusion or a make-believe. Citing the words of Padmapāda "The world is (Brahman) transmogrified," the

Nondualist Prakāśātman defines Transmogrification as

> the appearance, in multiple and unreal forms, diverse from the primordial one, of a being that has not lapsed from its nature...If the primordial form is relinquished, the Brahman nature will decompose, and so become nothing but an effect. [Then] He will be unable to relinquish His connection with the transmigrating universe. It will (consequently) be impossible for Him to attain release.[1]

Prakāśātman bases this doctrine on Scriptural passages such as:

> In one way only can that unknowable being be perceived. It is the immaculate beyond the ether, the unborn Self, the great, the eternal.[2]

And

> The wise Self is not born and does not die. He came from nothing and becomes nothing. He is the unborn, the eternal, the everlasting, the ancient. He is not killed when the body is.[3]

A similar doctrine is found in Gnosticism (an emanationist system), which tried to safeguard the divinity and transcendence of Jesus by the overt assertion that his suffering was but a make-believe. It was in reaction to such a theory that Ignatius insisted that Christ "was really born, ate, and drank; was really persecuted by Pontius Pilate; was really crucified and died...really raised from the dead..."[4] Similarly, Aghoraśiva maintains that "the world, established as existent by all norms, is not unreal, but would be if it were (consciousness) transmogrified."[5] The point of agreement between the Christian orthodoxy of Ignatius and the Siddhānta of Aghoraśiva is that both affirm the existence of a changeable reality capable of being "assumed" by God. The obvious point of disagreement is that Ignatius is

1. Pereira, pp. 201-202.
2. *Bṛh. Up.* 4.4.20.
3. *Kaṭha Up.* 2.18.
4. Ignatius of Antioch, *Letter to the Trallians* 9.1-2, in Richardson, p. 100.
5. *TPV*, 25.

speaking about the human nature of Jesus, and Aghora of an unconscious Matter.

Transformationism is a theory identifying effect with its material cause, whence its other name, the Theory of the Pre-existent Effect (*satkāryavāda*). It serves the theologies of Difference as well as of Difference-in-Identity. Aghoraśiva himself employs it to explain the evolutes of the unconscious category Bond. The Transformation he impugns is the Monist theology which identifies the world's efficient (or conscious) and material (or unconscious) causes. This being so, it seems incongruous to lump it together with Sabellianism and Monarchianism, as a basis for comparing the Catholic and Siddhānta systems.

Yet the three doctrines have some points of similarity. They both appear to imperil divine impassibility; they predicate a modal difference in their absolute, using analogies like light and radiance; they teach a unitary absolute diverse in its manifestations; and they profess to find justification for their conception of a unique transcendence in their respective Scriptures.

Intra-Divine Plurality

In order to understand God's involvement in the world, be it through the primordial Logos or the Primordial Energy, one must penetrate the mystery of the polarity between unity and plurality in God. For as Athanasius remarks, "How is it possible for someone not to err with regard to the incarnate presence (of the Son) if he is altogether ignorant of the generation of the Son from the Father?"[1] In the Catholic tradition, consideration of the doctrine of Christ clarified the thought and language of the Church about the previous problem. We shall now examine the development of the doctrine of Christ's divinity, and how its confession was squared with the monotheistic understanding of God and His impassible nature, preliminary to compare it with the Siddhānta's understanding of divine plurality in unity.

The Arian Controversy

Among the questions which divided the Christian theologians of the first six centuries after Christ, an important issue was the

1. Athanasius, *Orations against the Arians* 1.8, in Migne, *PG*, 26:28.

status of Christ in relation to the Absolute one God. The main controversy which the Church had to contend with, and eventually to benefit from, was the Arian teaching on the creaturely status of Christ. It seems to have started over the exegesis of the Old Testament passage in Proverbs 8:22-31[1] combined with a particular set of theological a prioris.[2] We shall see what these a prioris are, and how they and the corresponding scriptural passages brought about the Arian teaching on Christ, and through that teaching, the clarification of the Church's formula of *homoousios*.

One of these a prioris, according to Pelikan, is a peculiar view, fundamental to Arianism, of the absoluteness of God, proclaimed to be the "one and only," "the only unbegotten, the only eternal, the only one without beginning, the only true, the only one who had immortality, the only wise, the only good, the only potentate." "He was without beginning and utterly one." "God was a monad." From this eternal monad came a dyad with the generation of the Son and a triad with the production of the Spirit or wisdom. Originally and fundamentally, then, God was alone.[3]

There were scriptural proofs to support such an exclusive monotheism. Adducing Deuteronomy 6:4 "the Lord is our God," and other related passages, the followers of Arius demanded:

> Behold, God is said to be one and only and the first. How then can you say that the Son is God? For if he were God, (God) would not have said, "I alone" or "God is one."[4]

1. "The Lord creates me the beginning of his works, / before all else that he made, long ago. / Alone, I was fashioned in times long past, / at the beginning, long before earth itself. / When there was yet no ocean I was born, / no springs brimming with water. / Before the mountains were settled in their place, / long before the hills I was born, / when as yet he had made neither land nor lake / nor the first clod of earth. / When he set the heavens in their place I was there, / when he girdled the ocean with the horizon, / when he fixed the canopy of clouds overhead / and set the springs of ocean firm in their place, / when he prescribed its limits for the sea / and knit together earth's foundations. / Then I was at his side each day, / his darling and delight, / playing in his presence continually, / playing on the earth, when he had finished it, / while my delight was in mankind." *Prov.* 8:22-31 (NEB).
2. Pelikan, p. 194.
3. *Ibid.*
4. Athanasius, *Orations against the Arians* 3.7, in Migne, *PG*, 26:333.

Arius went on to assert that to accept the contrary, that is, if paternity was co-eternal with the Son, would have meant to blaspheme against the deity of God.[1] The scriptural passage which seems to have provided the context of Arius' argument was Proverbs 8:22-31, which stated that God had "created" wisdom, and that He had done so "for the sake of his other works". This was applied to the two titles, Logos and Son of God, said Arius:

> The Logos...is only called Logos conceptually, and not Son of God by nature and in truth, but merely called Son, he too, by adoption, as a creature... [The Logos was] alien and unlike in all respects to the selfhood and essence of the Father.[2]

Thus, the Logos was ranged among the originated and created, fundamentally different from God in essence. In the ontological distinction between Creator and creature, the Logos, in the theological framework of Arius, belonged to the side of the creatures.[3]

The Orthodox Position

The official doctrine of the Catholic church differed radically from the view of Arius. The regional council of Antioch (325) first anathematized "those who say or think or preach that the Son of God is a creature or has come into being or has been made and is not truly begotten, or that there was a then when he did not exist."[4] The most elaborate and binding, though not the clearest and the most consistent, orthodox statement, came from the Council of Nicea in 325. It was called the Nicene Creed, and reads as follows:

> We believe in one God, the Father Almighty, maker of all things visible and invisible; And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, begotten from the Father, only-begotten, that is, from the ousia of the Father, God from God, light from

1. *Ibid.*, 1.14, in Migne, *PG*, 26 : 41.
2. Athanasius, *Defense of Dionysius* 23.1, quoted in Pelikan, p. 196.
3. Pelikan, p. 196.
4. *Symbolum Antiochenum* 13, quoted in Pelikan, p. 201.

light, true God from true God, begotten not made, homoousios with the Father, through whom (namely ,the Son) all things came into being, things in heaven and things on earth, who for the sake of us men and for the purpose of our salvation came down and became incarnate, becoming man, suffered, died and rose again on the third day, ascended to the heavens, and will come to judge the living and the dead; And in the Holy Spirit.

But as for those who say, "There was a then when he did not exist," and "Before being born he did not exist," and that he came into existence out of nothing, or who assert that the Son of God is a different hypostasis or ousia, or is created, or is subject to alteration or change—these the Catholic church anathematizes.[1]

Here the most significant words in relation to the Arian controversy are: "only begotten, that is, from the *ousia* of the Father"; they open a way for establishing the equality of the Son with the Father, a point which the Arians had denied on the basis of Scripture and their theological presupposition of the absoluteness of God.

One notices the Creed's inclusion of certain words not found in Scripture, namely *ousia* and *homoousios*. It seems that originally the Council wanted to adhere to the *ipsissima verba* of Scripture, such as that the Son was "from God"; but when passages like I Cor. 8:6 and II Cor. 5:17 were cited to prove that "all things are from God" in the sense of being created by Him, the theologians of the Council wanted to be more specific about the expression "from God." Hence they added the two formulas: "only begotten, that is, from the ousia of the Father," and "homoousios".[2] Thus the Council proclaimed "that the Son of God bears no resemblance to the genetos creatures (that is, those that have a beginning), but that He is in every way assimilated to the Father alone who begat Him, and that He is not out of any other *hypostasis* and *ousia*, but out of the Father."[3]

1. *Symbolum Nicaenum* (325) in p. Schaff, ed., *Creeds of Christendom*, 6th ed. 3 vols. (New York: Harper, 1919-1931), 2:60.
2. Pelikan, p. 202.
3. G. L. Prestige, *God in Patristic Thought*, 2nd ed. (London: S. P. C. K., 1956).

But there was no universal consensus on *homoousios* even after Nicea, a main reason being that "the Nicene formulation left many fundamental questions unanswered and certain lingering suspicions unallayed."[1] For instance, in asserting the unity of the Godhead, Marcellus of Ancyra declared that the distinction of the Son (and Spirit) was only temporary and "economic"; that is to say, was not intrinsic in God, but referred to His "management" (*oikonomia*=economy) of the world. He further maintained that the title of the preexistent one is not the "Son"—such being a name proper only to the incarnate one—but the "Logos," immanent and internal rather than eternally subsisting.[2] Thus Marcellus showed, from within orthodoxy, that Nicea had not clarified what was meant in the confession: "We believe in one God."

Another difficulty stemming from the Nicene Creed, as Pelikan thinks, is that it appeared to equate *hypostasis* with *ousia*,[3] the former term being the precise equivalent of the Latin "substantia." As a consequence, the Latin theologians, such as Hilary of Poitiers, seemed to be obliterating the threeness of hypostases when they spoke of one substance in the Godhead.[4] The opponents of *homoousios* therefore suggested the substitution of *homoiousios*, "of a similar ousia," or more precisely, "like [the Father] in every respect."[5] There was, however, no apparent satisfaction in the understanding of the relationship between the Father and the Son (God and Logos), and Pelikan concludes:

> ...Speaking doctrinally rather than politically, the homoousios was saved by the further clarification of the unresolved problems of the One and the Three and by the recognition of a common religious concern between the partisans of homoousios and those of homoiousios.[6]

1. Pelikan, p. 207.
2. Marcellus of Ancyra, *Fragments* 43, cited in Pelikan, p. 208.
3. Pelikan, pp. 207-208.
4. Hilary, *De synodis* 25, in Migne, *PL* 10:499.
5. Epiphanius of Salamis, *Against Eighty Heresies* 73.13.1, referred to in Pelikan, p. 209.
6. Pelikan, p. 210.

Siddhānta Parallels

What the Nicene Creed had unequivocally proclaimed was the existence of a consubstantial divine Dyad, Father and Son. The Trinity was established with an equal definiteness only in the Council of Constantinople in 381. At the Nicene stage of its development, therefore, Catholic orthodoxy is in partial accord with Aghora's Siddhānta. Its later clear pronouncement on the existence of a divine Triad or Trinity was caused by doctrinal concerns specific to Christianity, such as the growing awareness of the divinity of the Spirit.

To see the divine Dyad in the abstract, as a polarity between God's absolute (or "static") and relative (or "dynamic") aspects is acceptable to Catholic theology, as we noted in our preliminary observations in this chapter. But it is not possible to remain within orthodoxy and identify the absolute aspect with the Father and the relative with the Son.

However, as Orthodoxy was slowly and painfully groping towards a definitive formulation, Christian theologians advanced theories on intra-divine plurality which correspond to those predicated to the Siddhānta's Dyad. Origen's God the Father (Who seems to correspond perfectly to Aghora's Energizer) is the Monad; He alone is God in the strict sense, and is alone ingenerate. Being perfect goodness and power, He must always have objects on which to exercise them; hence He has brought into existence a world of souls coeternal with Himself. To mediate, however, between His absolute unity and their multiplicity, He has His Son, the meeting place of a plurality of "aspects" which explain His twofold relation to the Father and the world.[1] So far He is like Aghora's Primordial Energy, only He is generated, She is not. Her existence is eternally concomitant with the Energizer's, like sunlight with the sun, as Meykandar observes. "This", says Origen "is an eternal and everlasting begetting, as brightness is begotten from light."[2]

The Origenist Alexander, bishop of Alexandria, elaborates his master's ideas when he tells us that the Father is "above and beyond reality," and that the Son is His intermediary for creating

1. Kelly, p. 128.
2. Origen, *De principiis* I, 2, 4. (G. W. Butterworth, *Origen on First Principles*. New York: Harper and Row, 1966, p. 18.)

and governing the universe, for the contingent order could not bear direct contact with absolute being.[1]

Again the correspondence with Aghora's Dyad is exact, except for the fact that the Logos is generated, while Energy is ingenerate. But there were Christian theologians like Marcellus of Ancyra who maintained that the generation or sonship of the Logos was only an attribute He acquired at the moment of Incarnation, that as eternal Logos He was ingenerate, and was a "potency" immanent in God, externalized as His "active energy" for creation and revelation. God was both the possessor of the Logos and the Logos itself (as Aghora's Godhead is both Śiva "possessor-of -Energy," *śakti-mat*, and Energy itself, *śakti*). But Alexander's God is a Triad, including the Spirit as well.

For a long time Christian theology remained dyadic, even while confessing a Trinity, because it lacked the concepts to justify its Trinitarian belief. Marius Victorinus, the fourth century Neo-Platonic theologian describes the Trinity in language that seems to echo the dyadic thought of Aghora's Siddhānta and the triadic of Abhinavagupta's Triadism. For Victorinus,

> The dialectical process within the Godhead is intrinsically triadic; God is "possessing three powers —being, living, understanding" (*esse, vivere, intelligere*). From this point of view the Father is the divine essence considered as absolute and unconditioned; He is entirely without attributes or determination, invisible and unknowable; strictly, He is "prior to being" ...The Son is the "form" by which the Godhead determines or limits Itself, thereby coming into relation with the finite and making Itself knowable. ...If the Son, as the form and image of the Godhead knows Itself, and so returns back to Itself. The Spirit is thus the link, or *copula*, between the Father and the Son, completing the perfect circle of the divine being.[2]

Binitarianism and Trinitarianism

It would seem unnecessary, for the purposes of comparison, to continue our inquiry from the divine Dyad (found in both the Siddhānta and Christianity) to the divine Triad (found only in

1. Kelly, p. 225.
2. *Ibid*, pp. 270-271.

Christianity). Let us, however, proceed, if only for "completing the perfect circle" of our inquiry. However, we shall discover that Christian dogmatics developed its idea of a consubstantial divine Trinity from the principles established during its dyadic phase, and by the application of notions (like deifying activities and initiation) found in the Siddhānta as well. Why then did the application of those notions in the Siddhānta also not give rise to a trinitarian Godhead ? The answer is that from the earliest times Christianity was in some fashion already trinitarian, in that it had a confession of belief in God, in Jesus and in the Holy Spirit. It sought to discover the theological significance of this confession and reached an understanding of it fully acceptable to itself only in the Council of Constantinople in 381.

From Dyad to Triad

Let us go back to the times before the Council of Nicea in 325, when the Holy Spirit makes His appearance as a distinct Person of the Trinity. Of the many titles used by the theologians of those times to describe Christ, one is "Spirit." St. Paul in Romans 1:3-4 distinguishes between Christ "according to the flesh" and "according to the Spirit." That distinction, combined with II. cor. 3:17—"now the Lord of whom this passage speaks is the Spirit"— may be taken as one of the earliest traces of the dyadic or binitarian mode of thinking with the Godhead being constituted of the Father and Sonspirit.[1]

In the Early Church many orthodox theologians were binitarians. Ignatius, using Rom. 1:2-4, described Christ as "one physician of flesh yet spiritual, born yet unbegotten."[2] Tertullian equated Christ and Spirit at least before his Montanist period and the treatise *Against Praxeas*. His treatise on *Prayer* opens with the words:

1. Pelikan, p. 184.
2. "This gospel God announced beforehand in sacred scriptures through his prophets. It is about his Son: on the human level he was born of David's stock, but on the level of the spirit—the Holy Spirit—he was declared Son of God by a mighty act in that he rose from the dead: it is about Jesus Christ our Lord." Rom. 1:2-4 (NEB), p. 191.

Ignatius of Antioch, *Letter to the Ephesians* 7.2, in Richardson, p. 90.

> The Spirit of God, and the Word of God, and the Reason of God—Word of Reason, and Reason and Spirit of Word—Jesus Christ our Lord, namely, who is both one and the other... Our Lord Jesus Christ has been approved as the Spirit of God, and the Word of God, and the Reason of God: the Spirit by which he was mighty; the Word by which he taught; the Reason by which he came.[1]

Clement of Alexandria, despite his general reluctance to speak of God even as Spirit, could speak of "the Lord Jesus, that is, the Word of God, the Spirit incarnate, the heavenly flesh sanctified."[2] From these and other similar passages in the Fathers and Apologists[3] it becomes clear that the Church's teaching included the term "Spirit" as a title for the preexistent divine in Christ.

Correspondingly, we find a lack of readiness to address prayers and hymns to the Holy Spirit. Even in the Latin liturgical usage, *Veni Creator Spiritus* and *Veni Sancte Spiritus* were among the few prayers to the Spirit, as distinguished from many prayers invoking the Spirit. The connection between Spirit and Christ was so persistent that in the (Niceno-) Constantinopolitan Creed of 381, the article on the Holy Spirit read: "And in the Holy Spirit, the Lordly, the life-giving," where "Lordly" is not a noun but an adjective relating the Spirit to the Son as Lord.[4]

It is worth noting here the opinions of some who have given reasons for the absence of discussion on the Holy Spirit from the debates among the theologians in the early church. Gregory of Naziansus explained the absence by a theory of development of doctrine, according to which

> the Old Testament proclaimed the Father manifestly, and the Son hiddenly. The New (Testament) manifested the Son, and suggested the Spirit. Now the Spirit himself is resident

1. Tertullian of Carthage, *De oratione* 1.1-2, in *CCSL* 1:257.
2. Clement of Alexandria, *Paedagogus* 1.6.43.3, quoted by Pelikan, p. 195.
3. For an in-depth study of the "Holy Spirit as Pre-existent Christ," see H. A. Wolfson, *The Philosophy of the Church Fathers*, 3rd rev. ed. 2 vols. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1970), 1:155-67.
4. *Symbolum Nicaenum* in P. Schaff, 2:57.

> among us, and provides us with a clearer explanation of himself.[1]

He adds, however, that Scripture itself did not very clearly or very often call him God in so many words, as it does first the Father and later on the Son.[2] Athanasius viewed it as a thing to be expected that those who refused the title "God" to the Son should demur at calling the Spirit God and should describe the Spirit as created out of nothing.[3] Athanasius also mentions some orthodox theologians, who having broken with the Arians on the question of Christ as a creature, nevertheless "opposed the Holy Spirit, saying that he is not only a creature, but actually one of the ministering spirits, and differs from the angels only in degree"; and others, who ascribed to the Holy Spirit an essence less than that of God but more than that of a creature.[4] He possessed a "middle nature" and was "one of a kind."[5] These opinions agree in that there was a basic lack of clarity in the words and thought of the Church's theologians, including those who professed to be orthodox and anti-Arian. Gregory of Naziansus, as late as 380, concedes that "to be only slightly in error (about the Holy Spirit) was to be orthodox."[6] Surveying the spectrum of orthodox opinion Gregory remarks:

> Of the wise men among ourselves, some have conceived of him (the Holy Spirit) as an activity, some as a creature, some as God; and some have been uncertain which to call him...And therefore they neither worship him nor treat him with dishonor, but take up a neutral position. (He adds, however, that) of those who consider him to be God, some are orthodox in mind only, while others venture to be so with lips also.[7]

This undeveloped state of the idea of Holy Spirit was improved by the Early Church Fathers by attempting to define the relation

1. Gregory of Naziansus, *Orationes* 31.26, in Migne, *PG*, 36:161.
2. *Ibid.*
3. Athanasius, *Orations against the Arians* 3.15, in Migne, *PG*, 26:353.
4. Athanasius, *Epistles to Serapion* 1.1, in Migne, *PG*, 26:532.
5. Cyril of Alexandria, *Dialogues on the Trinity* 7, in Migne, *PG*, 75:1076-77.
6. Gregory of Naziansus, *Orationes* 21.33, in Migne, *PG*, 35:121.
7. *Ibid.* 31.5, in Migne, *PG*, 36:137.

between the Son and the Holy Spirit. Cyril of Alexandria suggested that "the identity of nature" between the Son and the Spirit was enough to prove that the Spirit was God; but this was, as he himself recognized, begging the question.[1] Athanasius argued that if the relation of the Spirit to the Son was the same as that of the Son to the Father, it followed that neither the Son nor the Spirit could be described as a creature.[2] In developing this insight, Athanasius asserted that the Holy Spirit was *homoousios*, and as such he is related to the Son who is God. As an analogy, he used Is. 63:9-14 which refers to "the Spirit of the Lord" who, according to Athanasius, "is neither angel nor creature, but belongs to the Godhead."[3] Didymus saw the same passage in Isaiah as proof that the believers of the Old Testament had received grace from none less than "the Spirit, who is inseparable from the Father and the Son."[4] Cyril of Alexandria, summarizing the exegesis of Is. 63:9-14 (quoted above), saw in it a proof for the identity of *ousia* between the Holy Spirit and God, just as the exegetical tradition had seen there a proof for the identity between the Logos and God.[5] The other analogy which suggested itself as proof for the relationship between the Holy Spirit and God is that of the human spirit and the human self. It was based on I Cor. 2:11 which states: "Among men, who knows what a man is but the man's own spirit within him? In the same way, only the Spirit of God knows what God is."

1. Cyril, *Dialogues on the Trinity* 7, in Migne, *PG*, 75:1104.
2. Athanasius, *Epistles to Serapion* 1.21, in Migne, *PG*, 26:28.
3. "It was no envoy, no angel, but he himself that delivered them; / he himself ransomed them by his love and pity, / lifted them up and carried them / through all the years gone by. / Yet they rebelled and grieved his holy spirit; / only then was he changed into their enemy / and himself fought against them. / Then men remembered days long past / and him who drew out his people: / Where is he who brought them up from the Nile / with the shepherd of his flock? / Where is he who put within him / his holy spirit, / who made his glorious power march / at the right hand of Moses, / dividing the waters before them / to win for himself an everlasting name, / causing them to go through the depths / sure-footed as horses in the wilderness, /like cattle moving down into a valley without stumbling, / guided by the spirit of the Lord? / So didst thou lead thy people / to win thyself a glorious name." Is. 63:9-14 (NEB), pp. 898-99. Athanasius, *Epistles to Serapion* 1.12, in Migne, *PG*, 26:561.
4. Didymus of Alexandria, *On the Holy Spirit* 43, in Migne, *PG*, 39:1071.
5. Cyril, *Dialogues on the Trinity* 7, in Migne, *PG*, 75:1104-1105.

Athanasius used it to demonstrate that the divine impassibility which he found attested to in James 1:17: "with him there is no variation, no play of passing shadows," applied also to the Holy Spirit, so that "the Holy Spirit, being in God, must be incapable of change, variation, and corruption."[1] Basil saw in it "the greatest proof of the conjunction of the Spirit with the Father and the Son."[2]

Apart from the above-mentioned analogies, the understanding of the divinity of the Holy Spirit was no less supported by the titles, qualities, and operations attributed to Him, and their comparison and contrast in relation to the Son. Gregory of Naziansus queries: What titles which belong to God are not applied to (the Holy Spirit), except only "unbegotten" and "begotten"?[3] The title "holy" was applied to Him as the fulfilment of (His) nature, since He was sanctifying not sanctified.[4] So He was holy not "by participation or by a condition having its source outside him, but by nature and in truth."[5] Similarly, the term that the Spirit was "from God" was clarified by the same arguments that had been used to distinguish the Christological confession that Christ was "from God" from the general affirmation that all things were "from God" because they are creatures of God. In its application to the Holy Spirit, "from God" meant that He "proceeds from God, not by generation, as does the Son, but as the breath of his mouth."[6] The other title which helped connote a nature unaffected by change was "Spirit."[7] He was "the fulness of the gifts (or good things) of God." He was to be acknowledged as their transcendent source and therefore as also different in kind from the incorporeal creatures. This transcendent source of all created good was "unapproachable by thought"[8]; therefore He had to be God.[9]

The divinity of the Holy Spirit was proved also because He

1. Athanasius, *Epistles to Serapion* 1.26, in Migne, *PG*, 26:592.
2. Basil of Caesarea, *On the Holy Spirit* 16.40, in Migne, *PG*, 32:144.
3. Gregory of Naziansus, *Orationes* 31.29, in Migne, *PG*, 36:165.
4. *Ibid.* 41.9, in Migne, *PG*, 36:441.
5. Cyril, *Dialogues on the Trinity* 7, in Migne, *PG*, 75:1121.
6. Basil, *On the Holy Spirit* 18.46, in Migne, *PG*, 32:152.
7. *Ibid.* 9.22, in Migne, *PG*, 32:108.
8. Didymus, *On the Holy Spirit* 4, in Migne, *PG*, 39:1036.
9. Basil, *On the Holy Spirit* 22.53, in Migne, *PG*, 32:165.

did what God could do, namely, the works of renewing, creating, and sanctifying, in creatures.[1] Therefore, he did not belong to the same class of beings as they, but had to be divine.[2] He had to be "of a different substance than all the creatures."[3] Specifically, as the one who justified sinners and perfected the elect, the Holy Spirit did what was appropriate "only to the divine and supremely exalted nature."[4] He not only vivifies but deifies, and was therefore God.[5] Basil, enumerating the gifts of the Spirit, affirmed that from Him comes

> foreknowledge of the future, understanding of mysteries, apprehension of what is hidden, distribution of good gifts, the heavenly citizenship, a place in the chorus of angels, joy without end, abiding in God,the being made like to God—and highest of all, the being made God.[6]

Cyril insisted that if "the Spirit that makes us God" were of a nature different from God, all hope would be lost.[7]

Baptism also served as a means of proving the Spirit's divinity. Athanasius, presenting his own trinitarian interpretation, said: "When baptism is given, whom the Father baptizes, him the Son baptizes; and whom the Son baptizes, he is consecrated with the Holy Spirit."[8] And he added that if the last mentioned was a creature, "the rite of initiation which you reckon to perform is not entirely into the Godhead."[9]

The processes which we described above, through which the doctrine of the Deity and *homoousia* of the Holy Spirit developed, helped the achievement of a more meaningful and nearly adequate doctrine of the Trinity itself. As Athanasius asked: "If there is such a co-ordination and unity within the triad, who can

1. Didymus, *On the Trinity* 2.7, in Migne, *PG*, 39:560-600.
2. Athanasius, *Epistles to Serapion* 1.23, in Migne, *PG*, 26:584-85.
3. Didymus, *On the Holy Spirit* 8, in Migne, *PG*, 39:1040.
4. Cyril, *Dialogues on the Trinity* 7, in Migne, *PG*, 75:1101.
5. Gregory of Naziansus, *Orationes* 40-44, in Migne, *PG*, 36:421.
6. Basil, *On the Holy Spirit* 9.23, in Migne, *PG*, 32:109.
7. Cyril, *Dialogues on the Trinity* 7, in Migne, *PG*, 75: 1089; 1097.
8. Athanasius, *Orations against the Arians* 2.41, in Migne, *PG*, 26:236.
9. Athanasius, *Epistles to Serapion* 1.29, in Migne, *PG*, 26:596.

separate either the Son from the Father, or the Spirit from the Son or from the Father himself?"[1]

Finalization of Trinitarian Dogma

We would have normally expected the Council of Nicea to have uttered the final word on the dogma of the Trinity since the Nicene creed contains the words: "And we believe in the Holy Spirit." But the Council seems to have "disposed of the problem of the Holy Spirit with a formula which said everything and nothing."[2] This was partly due to the lack of satisfaction in the understanding of the relationship between the Father and the Son (God and Logos). The *homoousios* formula, as we saw earlier, "left the question of the One unanswered and the creed neglected to codify the term for the Three..."[3] As a result, the Council left itself open to charges of blurring the distinction between Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, after the manner of the Sabellians.[4] What was needed was a term for the One and another for the Three. For the latter, *hypostasis*, which had been used this way at least since Origen, was at hand; for the former, an obvious term was *ousia* because of long usage and of its association with the Christian exegesis of Exod. 3:14: "I AM." And the relationship between the One and Three came to be formulated as: one *ousia*, three *hypostases*. It was at the Council of Constantinople in 381, with its reaffirmation of the Nicene faith, that the consubstantiality of the Spirit as well as of the Son was formally endorsed, and the divinity of the Third Person definitively proclaimed.

Siddhānta Parallels

The above discussion discloses three points: First, the Early Church was binitarian in identifying the Holy Spirit with the preexistent Christ. Second, the Holy Spirit was considered a ministering angel, less than God but more than a creature. Third, with the help of the *homoousios*, He was elevated to the rank of a divine person, equal to the Father and the Son. One

1. Athanasius, *Epistles to Serapion* 1.20, in Migne, *PG*, 26:576-77.
2. Pelikan, p. 218.
3. *Ibid.*
4. *Ibid.*

of the most convincing proofs which helped in the formulation of His divinity were the titles, qualities and activities attributed to Him, and especially evident in Baptism.

In comparing these ideas with some of the Siddhānta's, we must recall its teachings on the Godhead's dual aspect, of Energizer and Energy; its dual Energies, the Primordial and the Assumptive; and the latter Energy's dual structure, Nucleus and the Mirific Power. While the parallels are far from being exact, there is nevertheless an analogous pattern in them. The dual of Energizer-Energy can be seen to correspond to the binity Father-Sonspirit; the Primordial Energy, to the transcendent Logos or the Preexistent Christ, identified with the Spirit; the Assumptive Energy, "assumed" by the Primordial, to Christ's human nature, "assumed" by the Divine, both the "assumed" forms being instruments of redemption.

The second point of comparison is the Holy Spirit considered as separate from Christ, but not equal to Him. Athanasius, as we have seen, refers to some orthodox theologians who considered the Holy Spirit to be different from the angels only in degree, and others who saw Him as having an essence less than God's, and so on. This indicates a stage in the church's thought where the Holy Spirit was seen in the same way as Aghoraśiva viewed the Lords of Knowledge (*Vidyeśvaras*) or ministering spirits or angels, such as Ananta—as less than God, but raised by Him to the rank of higher creatures, "supervisors of the Five Activities (like creation, etc.), the controllers of the Pure Way, and dwellers in the Supreme Lord Category."[1]

Perhaps the most significant comparison is in relation to the third point: the titles which were used to designate the Holy Spirit are the same as those used to refer to God. The sanctifying and vivifying operations of the Holy Spirit were His special manifestations, and the means par excellence of this self-disclosure was Baptism. The Energy through which Śiva redeems and sanctifies the soul is similarly designated as the Energy of Grace (*anugrahaśakti*), as is evident from Aghora's comments on the following words of Bhoja:

Through the fulmination of the pollution-dissolvent Energy

1. *TPV*, 10, See above, Chapter IV.

> He (Śiva) links the souls whose Pollution has matured to the Supreme End; this He does through Initiation.[1]

Aghoraśiva remarks:

> Here Śiva, in the midst of the triple-Bonded Conditioned Souls—whose Pollution has matured—...taking the form of a preceptor, directs the souls to the supreme end, that is, an essential equality with Śiva, through Initiation.[2]

Bhoja's words suggest that Śiva's Energy, as the instrument of Divine Grace, is different from all creatures because the Energy performs the work of renewing and sanctifying the bound souls, in addition to creation and other activities. In this sense, it belongs to Śiva in a way that no other being belongs to Him. It proceeds from Śiva, performs His works, and exists in eternal union with Him, just as the Holy Spirit proceeds, operates, and exists in the essence of God.

Aghoraśiva's comments indicate the means by which the process of renewal, sanctification, and deification takes place. He defines Initiation (*dīkṣā*) as a salvific means "capable of realizing Śiva-nature itself,"[3] describing it as being performed by Śiva either directly or through a teacher (in whom Śiva is present). Aghoraśiva quotes the *Svāyambhuva Āgama* which states that "It is only Initiation that removes the bondage of the soul and leads the soul to the world of Śiva."[4] This bondage includes personal acts such as the killing of a Brāhmaṇa which the Siddhānta considers a most serious crime. Initiation takes all guilt away and makes the soul equal to Śiva Himself.[5]

In the Catholic tradition, the rite of initiation is Baptism, and as Athanasius puts it, "When baptism is given [to a man] he is consecrated with the Holy Spirit."[6] Like the Siddhānta Initiation, the Christian Baptism is performed spiritually by God Himself. As the Holy Spirit is present in the soul after baptism,

1. *TP*, 15.
2. *TPV*, 15
3. *TPV*, 5.
4. Aghoraśiva, *Tattvasaṅgrahavyākhyā*, v. 28, in *AP*, 1.2.
5. *Ibid.*
6. Athanasius, *Orations against the Arians*, 2.41 in Migne, *PG*, 26:36.

the Energy of Grace is present in the soul during and after Initiation. More importantly, both ceremonies are performed for the same end: the redemption, sanctification, and deification of the soul.

Conclusion

What significance can the discussion in this chapter have for Catholic theology? In attempting a brief answer, let us recall that the Trinity is the highest of all mysteries, the *mysterium omnium supremum*, in the words of Suárez.[1] Hence, "putting aside all divine Revelation, it is impossible, by means of evident demonstration, to know that there are many persons in God."[2] And the reason is that

> there is no medium knowable through the natural light, which might show this truth, for every medium of demonstration is either a cause or an effect—as all demonstration derived from the things themselves, without the aid of testimony or Revelation, is either a priori, or through causes...or a posteriori, or through effects...But in the present case, the cause cannot be such a medium, because the eternal Father, for example, has no cause, in order that He be the Father. Consequently, neither has the Son a cause, nor any other principle besides the Father, and the same is proportionately true of the Holy Spirit. Therefore there is no place here for demonstration by cause. Nor indeed by effect, because all effects proceed from God in so far as He is one, and the Trinity of Persons is not as such necessary for the extra-divine works of God...Hence, no such demonstration is possible...Therefore the union of the plurality of Persons with the unity of God, in which the altitude of this mystery is situated, would at once appear intrinsically impossible to the intellect abandoned by divine Revelation.[3]

Revelation is therefore requisite for a knowledge of the Trinity. But what do we mean by "knowledge of the Trinity"? Is it the

1. Suárez, *De Santissimo Trinitatis mysterio, Proemium* in *Opera Omnia*; (Vivès ed.), 1:531.

2. "Seclusa omni revelatione divina, impossibile est per evidentem demonstrationem cognoscere, in Deo esse plures personas." *Ibid.*, lib. 1, cap. 11, n.5.

3. "Tandem probatur ratione, quia nullum est medium naturali lumine cognoscibile, quod hanc veritatem ostendat, omne enim medium demonstra-

understanding of the mystery arrived at in the Council of Constantinople in 381 ?

If so, the Church was devoid of its foundational insight during its formative and most important period. And if such a conclusion is unacceptable to us, we may have to admit that an awareness of the mystery can be found even in the absence of the Constantinopolitan definition. And if we were to seek another formula that would equally apply to the thought of the Council fathers, as to that of the earlier Christian thinkers, the earnest but often erring inquirers into the same truth, we might find ourselves constrained to employ less exact language than that found in the Council's definition. We might, for instance, using Anselm's[1] words, say that the "understanding of the Trinity" consisted in the belief that "there is, in the supreme unity, a certain wondrous plurality that is both ineffable and inevitable." Though even such a formula would be too exact, say for the time of the Evangelists, there would perhaps be no difficulty in admitting that it conveys "the altitude of this mystery," a knowledge of which is therefore found in the Early Church, in spite of the frequently mistaken interpretations of it given by theologians in good faith.

If this conclusion is acceptable, as we believe it is, then, as the sense of the ineffable and inevitable plurality within the divine unity is also the Siddhānta's foundational insight—however unacceptable some of its formulations to Constantinopolitan orthodoxy—we make bold to suggest that it derives from the same supernatural Revelation as Christianity, and from no other source.

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tionis est causa vel effectus, quia omnis demonstratio, quae ex rebus ipsis sumitur absque testimonio, vel revelatione, est vel a priori, et per causam,... vel a posteriori et per effectum,...At in praesenti tale medium non potest esse causa, quia pater aeternus, verbi gratia, nullam habet causam, ut Pater sit, et consequenter, nec Filius habet causam, neque aliud principium praeter Patrem, et simile est de Spiritu sancto cum proportione, ergo hic non habet locum demonstratio per causam. Nec vero per effectum, quia omnes effectus creati procedunt a Deo, ut unus est, et Trinitas personarum non est per requisita ad operationes Dei ad extra...,ergo nulla esse potest talis demonstratio. Conjunctio ergo pluralitatis personatum cum unitate Dei, in qua posita est altitudo mysterii statim appareret per se impossibilis intellectui destituto revelatione Divina, ideoque nullam circa contrariam veritatem inquitionem admitteret." Suárez, *Opera omnia* (Vivès ed.), 1:566 and 568.

1. Anselm, *Monologion*, 43, in Schmitt, p. 59.

APPENDIX 1

Names of Famous Śaiva Patrons

I. *Kalacuri Kings*:
   1. Yuvarāja I (ca. 925)
   2. Lakṣmaṇarāja (ca. 950)
   3. Śaṅkaragaṇa
   4. Yuvarāja II
   5. Sāhasika

II. *Cālukya Kings*:
   1. Siṃhavarman
   2. Sadhanva
   3. Avanivarman
   4. Queen Nohalā

(For a complete list of the Kalacuri and Cālukya genealogies, see Majumdar, 4:522 and 525)

III. *Kākatīya Kings* :
   1. Prola II
   2. Rudra I
   3. Mahādeva
   4. Gaṇapati (1198)

(For a complete list of the Kākatīya genealogy, see Majumdar, 5:863)

IV. *Paramāra Kings* :
   1. Sīyaka (949)
   2. Vākpati II (972)
   3. Sindhurāja (995)
   4. Bhoja (1018-1060)
   5. Udayāditya (1070-1086)
   6. Jayasiṃha (1116)
   7. Naravarma Deva (1094-1133)

(For a complete list of the Paramāra genealogy, see Jain, pp. 340-41, 408-409)

V. *Coḷa Kings*:

1. Rājarāja I (985-1014)
2. Rājendra I (1012-1044)
3. Vikramacoḷa (1118-1135)
4. Kulottuṅga (1133-1150)

(For a complete list of the Coḷa genealogy, see Majumdar, 5:443)

APPENDIX 2

An Alphabetical List of the Āgamas

(The following Āgamas and Upāgamas are derived from Jean Filliozat's list which appears in Bhat, *Rauravāgama*, pp. xviii-xxi; and J. M. Nallaswamipillai's list in Arulnandi, *Śivajñāna Siddhiyār*, pp. lii-lv.)

I. *Dualistic or Śiva Division*
   A. Ajita
   B. Aṃśumad (Aṃśumān)
   C. Kāmika (Mṛgendra)
   D. Kāraṇa (Karaṇa)
   E. Cintya
   F. Dīpta
   G. Yogaja
   H. Sāhasraka (Sahasra)
   I. Suprabheda (Suprabodha)
   J. Sūkṣma

II. *Dualistic-Nondualistic or Rudra Division*
   A. Anala (Anila)
   B. Kiraṇa
   C. Candrajñāna (Candrahāsa)
   D. Niḥśvāsa
   E. Pārameśvara
   F. Prodgīta (Udgīta)
   G. Makuṭa
   H. Mukhabimba (Bimba)
   I. Raurava
   J. Lalita
   K. Vātula (Para; Pārahita)
   L. Vijaya
   M. Vimala
   N. Vīra (Bhadra)
   O. Santāna (Santa)
   P. Sarvottara (Narasiṃha)

Q. Siddha
R. Svāyaṃbhuva (Svayaṃbhūta)

An Alphabetical List of Āgamas and Upāgamas

(Asterisk [*] follows Āgamas titled "Tantra"; cross [+] follows Āgamas titled "Saṃhitā." Those with equal [=] sign are probable equivalents; those in parenthesis () are alternates.)

I. *Dualistic or Śiva Division*
- A. *Ajita*
  1. Padma+
  2. Parodbhūta = Vīrodbhūta
  3. Pārvatī*+
  4. Prabhūta
- B. *Aṃśumad*
  1. Ātmālaṅkāra
  2. Īśānottara
  3. Aindra = Mahendra
  4. Kāśyapa
  5. Gautama
  6. Nīlalohita
  7. Prakaraṇa
  8. Brāhma
  9. Bhūtatantra
  10. Vāsava = Bhāskara
  11. Vāśiṣṭha
  12. Vidyāpurāṇa
- C. *Kāmika*
  1. Nārasiṃha
  2. Bhairavottara
  3. Vaktāra = Uttara
- D. *Kāraṇa*
  1. Kāraṇa*
  2. Daurga = Daurjanya*
  3. Pāvana*
  4. Bhīma*+
  5. Mārana*
  6. Mahendra*
  7. Vidveṣa = Īśāna*

E. *Cintya*

1. Amṛta
2. Parodbhava = Sārodbhava
3. Pāpanāśa
4. Vāma*
5. Sucintya
6. Subhaga = Śubha

F. *Dipta*

1. Akṣya = (Apratima)
2. Adbhuta
3. Abda = (Āpya)
4. Amitaujasa
5. Ameya
6. Asaṅkhya
7. Acchādya = (Ānanda)
8. Ānanda
9. Mādhavodbhūta (Amṛta)

G. *Yogaja*

1. Ātmayoga
2. Tāram = Taraka*
3. Vīṇāśikhottara = Vīṇāśirottara
4. Santatiḥ = Sāṅkhya
5. Santa = Śānti

H. *Sāhasraka*

1. Atīta
2. Aprameya
3. Alaṅkāra
4. Jatibhāk = Jyotirbhavana
5. Prabuddha
6. Maṅgala = Amala
7. Vibuddha
8. Śuddha
9. Subodhaka
10. Hasta

I. *Suprabhedha*

1. Gaṇeśaḥ (Subodha)
2. Diśeśaḥ (Prabodha)
3. Śasī (Bodha)

J. *Sūkṣma*

1. Sūkṣma+

II. *Dualistic-Nondualistic or Rudra Division*

A. *Anala*

1. Āgneya

B. *Kiraṇa*

1. Kālākhya = Kāla*
2. Gāruḍa
3. Dhenuka (Vaikrama)
4. Nīla*
5. Nairtraka = Nairita
6. Prabudha
7. Buddha
8. Bhānuka = Bhāna
9. Rūkṣa

C. *Candrajñāna*

1. Ekapādapurāṇa
2. Kalpabheda = Kalabheda
3. Devīmata
4. Nandikeśvara+
5. Nīlarudraka = Nilabhadra*
6. Mahānta = Mahat+
7. Vāruṇa (Nandi*)
8. Śāṅkara
9. Śivabhadra
10. Śivasamāna = Śivaśāsana
11. Śivaśekhara
12. Srīmukha
13. Sthāṇu+
14. Sthira+

D. *Niḥśvāsa*

1. Niḥśvāsakārikā = Kāraka
2. Niḥśvāsaguhya = Guhya
3. Niḥśvāsaghora = Ghora+
4. Niḥśvāsanayana
5. Niḥśvāsa
6. Niḥśvāsamukhodaya
7. Niḥśvāsa-Uttara
8. Mantra Niḥśvāsa = Susāṅkhya

E. *Pārameśvara*

1. Pārameśvara
2. Puṣkara = Pauṣkara

3. Mātaṅga*
4. Yakṣiṇīpadma = Yakṣiṇī*
5. Sāmānya
6. Suprayoga
7. Haṃsa

F. *Prodgīta*

1. Aṅkuśa = Kuśa*
2. Ātodya
3. Āyurveda
4. Kāvaca
5. Gītaka = Saṅgīta
6. Daṇḍadhara*
7. Dhanurdhara
8. Dhanurveda
9. Pāśabandha (Paśubandha+)
10. Piṅgalāmata
11. Bharata
12. Vārāha*
13. Vijñāna
14. Śivajñāna
15. Śrīkālajñāna = Trikālajñāna
16. Sarpadaṃṣṭravibhedana

G. *Makuṭa*

1. Makuṭa
2. Makuṭottara

H. *Mukhabimba*

1. Ayogaja (Mahāyoga)
2. Ātmālaṅkāra = Arthālaṅkāra
3. Kalātyaya (Malaya*)
4. Kuṭṭima*
5. Caturmukha*
6. Tutinīraka = Tṛtinila-kara
7. Tulāyoga
8. Tautīka (Kauṭa*)
9. Nairtrata (Tulāvṛita)
10. Paṭṭaśekhara (Sarvaśekhara)
11. Pratibimba
12. Mahāvidyā
13. Mahāsayra = Mahā-sāura
14. Vāyavya*
15. Saṃstobha

I. *Raurava*
1. Aindra = Indra
2. Kāladahana
3. Kālākhya
4. Mahākālamata
5. Raurava = (Kaumāra)
6. Rauravottara

J. *Lalita*
1. Kaumāra
2. Lalita
3. Lalitottara (Vighneśvara)

K. *Vātula*
1. Kālajñāna
2. Dharmātmaka
3. Nitya
4. Prarolita (Parājita)
5. Mahānana (Mahāda)
6. Vātula
7. Vātulottara = Uttaravātula
8. Viśva = Viśvāsa
9. Viśvātmaka (Sarveṣṭa)
10. Śuddha
11. Śreṣṭha
12. Sarva

L. *Vijaya*
1. Aghora*
2. Udbhava*
3. Kaubera = Kubereśa*
4. Mahāghora*
5. Mṛtyunāśana = Mṛtyunāśaka*
6. Vijaya*
7. Vimala*
8. Saumya*

M. *Vimala*
1. Aṭṭahāsa (Hṛidda)
2. Atikrānta (Udbhūta)
3. Ananta = Anantabhoga
4. Arcita (Mārana*)
5. Alaṅkṛta
6. Ākrānta

7. Ārevata (Avikṛta)
8. Dhāraṇa
9. Bhadravidha
10. Bhoga
11. Raudra
12. Vimala
13. Vṛṣapiṅga
14. Vṛṣodbhūta
15. Vṛṣodara
16. Sudanta

N. *Vīra*

1. Amala
2. Amoha*
3. Prabodhaka*
4. Praṣṭara*
5. Phulla
6. Bodhabodhaka
7. Bhadra*
8. Mohasamaya*
9. Vilekhana*
10. Vīra*
11. Śakaṭa*
12. Śakaṭādhika
13. Hala*

O. *Santāna*

1. Anila
2. Amareśvara = Maheśvara
3. Asaṅkhya*
4. Dvandva
5. Liṅgādhyakṣa
6. Śaṅkara*
7. Surādhyakṣa

P. *Sarvottara*

1. Īśāna
2. Divyaprokta (Tattvottara) (Viṣayottara)
3. Vāyuprokta
4. Sarvodgīta
5. Śivadharmottara

Q. *Siddha*

1. Auśanasa = Deveśottara

2. Śaśimaṇḍala
3. Śālābheda
4. Sārottara

R. *Svāyaṃbhuva*
1. Nalinodbhava
2. Padma
3. Prajāpatimata

Correspondence of the Āgamas to Śiva's Five Heads

(Roman numerals and capitals refer to those of the previous list)

I. *Dualistic or Śiva Division*
1. From the mouth of *Sadyojāta*: A, C, D, E, G.
2. From the mouth of *Vāmadeva*: B, F, H, I, J.

II. *Dualistic-Nondualistic or Rudra Division*
3. From the mouth of *Aghora*: A, D, L, N, R.
4. From the mouth of *Īśāna*: B, E, F, J, K, O, P, Q.
5. From the mouth of *Tatpuruṣa* : C, G, H, I, M.

APPENDIX 3

Siddhānta Literature : Sanskrit School

A. *Prior to Bhoja* :

1. Rāmakaṇṭha I, *Spandakārikāvṛtti* (*A Commentary on Memorial Verses on Vibrancy*).
2. ———, *Sarvatobhadra* (*The Universally Beneficent*), a commentary on the *Bhagavadgītā*.

B. *Bhoja's Works* :

Astronomy and Astrology

1. *Ādityapratāpasiddhānta, Astronomical Treatise on the Power of the Sun.*
2. *Rājamārtaṇḍa, The Royal Sun.*
3. *Rājamṛgāṅka, The Royal Moon.*
4. *Vidvajjanavallabha, Friend of the Learned.*

Arts and Crafts

5. *Samarāṅgaṇasūtradhāra, Commander of the Battlefield.*

Ethics

6. *Cārucaryā, Agreeable Behavior.*
7. *Vyavahārasamuccaya, Assemblage of Actions.*

Grammar

8. *Śabdānuśāsanam, Instruction on Words.*

Lexicography

9. *Nāmamālikā, Garland of Nouns.*

Medicine

10. *Āyurvedasarvasva, Mirror of Medicine.*
11. *Viśrāntavidyāvinoda, Pleasure of the Knowledge of Relaxation.*
12. *Śālihotra, Receiving the Offerings of Rice.*

Politics

13. *Cāṇakyanīti, The Policy of Cāṇakya.*

Poetry and Prose

14. *Avanikūrmaśataka* (in *Prakrit*), *Century of Poems on the Earth Tortoise.*
15. *Mahākālivijayam, The Victory of the Great Kālī.*
16. *Rāmāyaṇacampū, Prose and Verse Narrative of Rāma.*
17. *Vidyāvinodakāvyam, Poem on the Pleasure of Learning.*
18. *Śṛṅgāramañjarī, The Bouquet of Love.*
19. *Subhāṣitaprabandha, Composition of Eloquent Sayings.*

Poetics and Rhetoric

20. *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa, Splendor of Eros.*
21 *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa, Necklace of the Goddess of Learning.*

Theology

22. *Tattvaprakāśikā, The Illumination of the Categories.*
23. *Rājamārtaṇḍa, The Royal Sun (Vedānta).*
24. *Rājamārtaṇḍa, The Royal Sun (Commentary on Patañjali's Yoga Aphorisms).*
25. *Yuktikalpataru, The Wishing Tree of Reasonings.*
26. *Śivatattvaratnakālikā, The Spot on the Śiva-Principle Jewel.*
27. *Siddhāntasaṅgraha, Assemblage of Siddhānta Doctrines.*

C. *After Bhoja*

1. Nārāyaṇakaṇṭha, *Mṛgendravṛtti (A Commentary on the Mṛgendra Āgama).*
2. Rāmakaṇṭha II, *Mokṣakārikāvṛtti (Commentary on [Sadyojyoti's] The Memorial Verses on Liberation).*
3. ———, *Paramokṣakārikāvṛtti (Commentary on [Sadyojyoti's] The Refutation on Alien Doctrines of Liberation).*
4. ———, *Prakāśikā (On Sadyojyoti's Nareśvaraparīkṣā) (Illuminatrix on the Inquiry into the Lord of Man).*
5. ———, *Bhāṣya (Exposition on Bhagavadgītā).*
6. ———, *Mantraviveka (Discrimination on Incantations).*
7. ———, *Āgamaviveka (Discrimination of the Scriptures).*
8. ———, *Svāyaṃbhuvodyota (A Commentary on the Svāyaṃbhuva Āgama).*

D. *Aghoraśiva's Works*

The three divisions of Aghoraśiva's writings represent the following: I. Complete independent works published or unpublished.

II. Works known from references only. III. Aghoraśiva's commentaries on other works and their authors. Under division III the order followed is: (a) Author and Title of Text; (b) Name of Aghoraśiva's Commentary; (c) Facts of Publication, if any; (d) Description of Content.

I. *Independent Works*

A. *Kriyākrama-Dyotikā* (Other names are: *Aghoraśiva-Paddhati*; *Kriyākrama-Dyota*; *Kriyākrama-Jyoti*; *Nitya-Kriyākrama*). Composed in 1157. For other details and Manuscript numbers, see *New Catalogus Catalogorum : An Alphabetical Register of Sanskrit and Allied Works and Authors*. Vol. 5. Rev. ed. (Madras: University of Madras, 1969), pp. 133-34. Many selections from *Kriyākrama-Dyotikā* have been published in South India. They bear different titles, with texts preserved in Grantha script, some accompanied by a Tamil translation. The following selection of titles dealing with Ritual, is available at l'Institut Français d'Indologie, Pondicherry, South India.

1. *Mahānavami Pūjā Vidhi*
2. *Prāyasiddha Vidhi*
3. *Pavitrotsava Vidhi*
4. *Śivaliṅga Pratiṣṭhā Vidhi*
5. *Mahotsava Vidhi*
6. *Antyeṣṭi Vidhi*
7. *Devī Pratiṣṭhā Vidhi*
8. *Śiva Pratiṣṭhā Vidhi*
9. *Subrahmaṇya Pratiṣṭhā Vidhi*
10. *Dīkṣā Vidhi* (or *Āgamāhnikā*)
11. *Śivālaya Nitya Pūjā Vidhi* (also called *Parārtha Nitya Pūjā Vidhi*. May not form part of *Kriyākrama Dyotikā*. The colophon describes it as a compilation based on the *Sakalāgamasāra Saṅgraha*). The *Kriyākrama Dyotikā* is divided into three parts as *Pūrva*, *Apara* and *Śaiva Ṣoḍaṣa Prakāśikā*. The first two parts have been commented on by Nirmalamaṇi Deśika. The commentary is called *Nirmalamaṇi Prabhā* or *Prabhā*. Belongs to 13th century.

B. *Aśaucadīpikā*
C. *Āścaryasāra—Kāvya* (poem)
D. *Vṛṣotsarjanaprayoga*—An extract from his *Kriyākrama Dyotikā* (?)
E. *Siddhāntaśekhara* (?)—(The Crest of the Siddhānta)
F. *Siddhāntārtha Samuccaya*—(Collection of the Import of the Siddhānta)
Refutation of Other Indian Schools of Spirituality

II. *Works Known from References*

The first four works are referred to in Aghoraśiva's Commentary on Śrīkaṇṭha's *Ratna Traya*, titled *Ratnatraya Ullekhinī*; the fifth work, in his commentary on *Mṛgendra Vṛtti* of Nārāyaṇakaṇṭha, titled *Mṛgendra Vṛtti Dīpikā*.

A. *Abhyudaya Nāṭaka*—A drama.
B. *Pāṣaṇḍāpajaya—Kāvya* (Defeat of the Heterodox).
C. *Bhaktaprakāśa* (The Light of the Devotees).
D. *Sarvavidyeśinī*—An epitome of *Mātaṅga Āgama*.
E. *Kāvyatilaka* (?) (The Beauty Spot of Poetry).

III. *Aghoraśiva's Commentaries*

A. On Nārāyaṇakaṇṭha, *Mṛgendra Vṛtti*. *Mṛgendra Vṛtti Dīpikā*. An elaboration of the 'Knowledge' section (*vidyāpāda*) of *Mṛgendra Āgama* (see bibliography for facts of publication).
B. On Bhoja Deva, *Tattvaprakāśikā*. *Tattvaprakāśikā Vyākhyā*. N. Kṛiṣṇa Sāstri, ed. *Aṣṭaprakaraṇa* 1:1 (Devakottai, South India, Śaiva Siddhānta Paripālana Saṅgham, 1923-25). Thirty-Six Categories of Śaiva Siddhānta.
C. On Sadyojyoti, *Tattva Saṅgraha*. *Tattva Saṅgraha Vyākhyā* or *Laghuṭīkā*. N. Kṛiṣṇa Śāstri, ed. *Aṣṭaprakaraṇa* 1:2. An elaboration on the 'Knowledge' section of *Raurava Āgama*.
D. On Sadyojyoti, *Tattva Traya Nirṇaya*. *Tattva Traya Nirṇaya Vyākhyā* or, *Śrī Janya*. N. Kṛiṣṇa Śāstri, ed. *Aṣṭaprakaraṇa* 1:3. On the three Primary Categories: Master, Beast, Bond.
E. On Śrīkaṇṭha, *Ratna Traya*. *Ratna Traya Vṛtti* or, *Ratna Traya Ullekhinī*. N. Kṛiṣṇa Śāstri, ed. *Aṣṭapra-*

karaṇa 2:1. On the three categories: Bindu, Śakti, Śiva.

F. On Sadyojyoti, *Bhogakārikā. Bhogakārikā Vṛtti.* N. Kṛiṣṇa Śāstri, ed. *Aṣṭaprakaraṇa* 2:2. On the nature of material enjoyments and means of attaining them, as given in *Raurava Āgama.*

G. On Rāmakaṇṭha, *Nādakārikā. Nādakārikā Vṛtti.* N. Kṛiṣṇa Śāstri, ed. *Aṣṭaprakaraṇa* 2:3. On the Śaiva Philosophy of Language.

H. On Aghoraśiva., *Paśu Pati Pāśa Vicāra Prakaraṇa.* On the three Primary Categories: Beast, Master, Bond, based on the *Mātaṅga Āgama.*

I. On Aghoraśiva, *Sarvajñānottara Vṛtti.* On Liberation as "Equality with Śiva."

APPENDIX 4

Siddhānta Literature : Tamil School

I. *Tirumurai : The Tamil Canon*

1. Tirujñāna Saṃbandar (7th cent.), *Devāram (Divine Praises)*
2. ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,,
3. ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,,
4. Tirunāvukkarasu or Appār ,, ,, ,,
5. ,, ,, ,, ,, ,,
6. ,, ,, ,, ,, ,,
7. Sundarar (9th cent.) ,, ,, ,,
8. Māṇikkavācagar (10th cent.), *Tiruvācagam (Sacred Sayings)*
9. Tiruvisaippā Tiruppallāṇḍu (9th-11th cent.) *Padigam (Poems of Praise)*
10. Tirumūlar (800), *Tirumantiram (Sacred Incantations)*
11. Pattinattar et al. (10th cent.), *Prabandam (Essay)*
12. Sekkilar (11th cent.), *Periyapurānam (Great Epic)*

II. *Sixty-three Tamil Saints*

1. Tirunilakanta
2. Iyarpagai
3. Ilaiyangudi
4. Meypporul
5. Viranminda
6. Amarniti
7. Eripatta
8. Enadhinatha
9. Kannappa
10. Kunkuliyakkalaya
11. Manakkanjara
12. Arivattaya
13. Anaya
14. Murtti
15. Muruga
16. Rudrapasupati
17. Tirunalaippovar
18. Tirukkuripputtonda

19. Sandesvara
20. Tirunavukkarasu
21. Kulachchirai
22. Perumilalaikkurumba
23. Karaikal
24. Appudhiyadigal
25. Tirunilanakka
26. Naminandhiyadigal
27. Tirujnana Sambanda Murthi
28. Eyarkonkalikkama
29. Tirumular
30. Tandiyadigal
31. Murkka
32. Somasimara
33. Sakkiya
34. Sirappuli
35. Siruttonda
36. Seramanperumal
37. Gananatha
38. Kurruva
39. Poyyadimaiyillathapulavar
40. Pugalchola
41. Narasingamunaiyaraiya
42. Atipatta
43. Kalikkamba
44. Kaliya
45. Satti
46. Aiyadigal Kadavarkon
47. Kanampulla
48. Kari
49. Ninrasir Nedumara
50. Vayilar
51. Munai Aduvar
52. Kalarchinga
53. Idangali
54. Seruttunai
55. Pungalttunai
56. Kotpuli
57. Pusalar
58. Mangaiyarkkarasiyar

59. Nesa
60. Koch-chengatchola
61. Tirunilakanta Yalpana
62. Sadaiya
63. Isai-jnaniyar

III. *Meykanda Śāstras*

1. Uyyavantha Devar (1148), *Tiruvunthiar* (*Sacred Effort*)
2. Uyyavantha Devar (1178), *Tirukkalirruppadiar* (*Steps to Sacred Joy*)
3. Meykanda Devar (1200), *Śivajñānabodham* (*The Understanding of Śiva Knowledge*)
4. Arulnandi, *Śivajñānasiddhiyār* (1253) (*Proof of Śiva Knowledge*)
5. Arulnandi, *Irupāv Irupahdu* (13th cent.) (*Two-metered Verses*). A dialogue between teacher and pupil on Pollution (*mala*) as the central theme.
6. Umāpati, *Saṅkalpa Nirākaraṇam* (1313) (*The Repudiation of Doubts*)
7. Umāpati, *Śivaprakāśam* (14th cent.), (*The Light of Śiva*)
8. Umāpati, *Potri Paltodai* (14th cent.) (*A Poem of Beauty*). Traces the stages of the soul from its birth, through all rebirths, to liberation. Shows every event the soul experiences, as being an act of Divine Grace.
9. Umāpati, *Kodi Kavi* (14th cent.) (*Long Poems*). Extols Grace over evil. Shows how the soul could avoid doubt and despair.
10. Umāpati, *Neñju Vidu Toothu* (14th cent.) (*A Message from the Heart*)
11. Umāpati, *Tiru Arulpayan* (14th cent.) (*Fruit of Divine Grace*)
12. Umāpati (or Tattvanathar [?]), *Unmai Neri Vilakkam* (14th cent.) (*Exposition of the True Path*)
13. Umāpati, *Vinā Venbā* (14th cent.) (*Song of Inquiry*)
14. Manavacakam Kadandar, *Unmai Vilakkam* (14th cent.) (*Exposition of Truth*). A dialogue between Meykandar and his disciple.

IV. *Post-Meykanda Literature*

Śivāgrayogin, Tamil translation of *Sarvajñānottara Āgama*
———, Tamil translation of *Devīkālottara Āgama*
———, Tamil translation of *Haradattācārya's Śruti-sūktimālikā* (*Garlands of the Scriptural Sentences*)

APPENDIX 5

Categories of the Siddhānta : Aghoraśiva

I. Supreme Śiva (*paramaśiva*) = Master (*pati*), Energizer (*Śaktimat*), The Divine Absolute (Primordial) Energy (*śakti*), The Divine Relative

II. Assumptive Energy (*parigrahaśakti*) = Bond (*pāśa*)

a. The Great Mirific Power or Nucleus (*bindu*)

Śiva	1
Energy (*śakti*)	2
Ever-Beneficent (*sadāśiva*)	3
Supreme-Lord (*Īśvara*)	4
(Pure) Knowledge (*vidyā*)	5

b.

Mirific Power (*māyā*)	6
The Five Sheaths (*pañcakañcuka*)	
Time (*kāla*)	7
Aptitude (*kalā*)	8
Knowledge (*vidyā*)	9
Attachment (*rāga*)	10
Necessity (*niyati*)	11
Spirit (*puruṣa*)	12
Matter or Unevolved (*prakṛti* or *avyakta*)	13
Attributes (*guṇa*)	14
Instinct (*buddhi*)	15
Egoism (*ahaṅkāra*)	16
Five Perceptual Faculties (*jñānendriya*)	17—21
Five Motor Faculties (*karmendriya*)	22—26
Five Subtle Elements (*tanmātrāṇi*)	27—31
Five Gross Elements (*bhūtādi*)	32—36

Karma
Infinitesimal Pollution (*āṇava-mala*)

III. The Soul = Beast (*paśu*)
Liberated Fully = *Śiva*

Partially = Lords of Knowledge (*vidyeśvaras*) (power-pollution: *adhikāra-mala*)

Unliberated

Partially unpolluted (*akala*) (1 or 2 major pollutions)

Fully polluted (*sakala*) (all 3 major pollutions)

APPENDIX 6

The Illumination of the Categories

SANSKRIT TEXT

तत्त्वप्रकाशिका

(अघोरशिवाचार्यकृतवृत्तिसहिता)

शिवं प्रणम्य षट्त्रिंशत्तत्त्वातीतं सशक्तिकम् ।
व्याख्यां तत्त्वप्रकाशस्य स्फुटां लघ्वीं करोम्यहम् ॥
अद्वैतवासनाविष्टैः सिद्धान्तज्ञानवर्जितैः ।
व्याख्यातोऽत्रान्यथाऽन्यैर्यत्स ततोऽस्माकमुद्यमः ॥

तत्र तावदाचार्यः प्रारिप्सितस्य प्रकरणस्याविघ्नपरिसमाप्त्यर्थं सिद्धान्तशास्त्रप्रवृत्तिनिमित्तं सकलतत्त्वातीतं निष्कलं परमशिवमाद्ययाऽऽर्यया स्तौति—

चिद्घन एको व्यापी
नित्यः सततोदितः प्रभुश्शान्तः ।
जयति जगदेकबीजं
सर्वानुग्राहकश्शंभुः ॥१॥

चिच्छब्देनात्र ज्ञानक्रिये वक्ष्येते । तदुक्तं श्रीमन्मृगेन्द्रे—'चैतन्यं दृक्क्रियारूप' मिति । चिदेव घनं देहः यस्य सः **चिद्घनः** । न तु कर्मकालादीश्वरवादिनामिव जडः । अचेतनस्य चेतनाधिष्ठानं विना प्रवृत्त्ययोगात् । न चास्य बैन्दवशरीराद्युपगमो युक्तः । अनीश्वरत्वप्रसङ्गात् । तस्य च कर्त्रन्तरापेक्षायां स्वकर्तृकत्वेऽन्यकर्तृकत्वे वाऽनवस्थाप्रसङ्गाच्च । **एकः** अद्वितीयः । न त्वनेकेश्वरपक्षोऽपि युक्तः । रथादीनामप्यनेककर्तृकाणामेकेच्छानुवर्तनं विनाऽनुत्पत्तेः । यदुक्तम्—

'बहवो यत्र नेतारस्सर्वे पण्डितमानिनः ।
तथा महत्त्वमिच्छन्ति तद्व्यक्तमवसीदति' ॥

अनेन प्रवाहेश्वरपक्षोऽपि निरस्तः । ऐश्वर्यस्य स्वरूपव्यक्तिलाभात्मकत्वेन विनाशानुपपत्तेः । **व्यापी** सर्वगतः । न तु क्षपणकादीनामिव शरीरपरिमितः, सङ्कोचविकासधर्मी वा । तादृशस्याचेतनत्वानित्यत्वादिदोषप्रसङ्गात् । **नित्यः** आद्यन्तरहितः । न तु बौद्धानामिव क्षणिकः । उत्पत्तिकाल एव नश्यतस्तस्य जगत्कर्तृकत्वा-

संभवात् । ननु मुक्तात्मानोऽप्येवंभूता एवात आह—**सततोदितः** नित्यमुक्तः । न तु मुक्तात्मान इवेश्वरांतरप्रसादमुक्तः । अनवस्थाप्रसङ्गात् । **प्रभुः** प्रभवनशीलः । नत्वीश्वरान्तरप्रेर्य इत्यर्थः । प्रागुक्तादेव हेतोः । नाप्यकर्ता । जगत्कर्तृत्वेनैवास्य सिद्धेः । **शान्तः** रागद्वेषादिरहितः ।

'मोहो मदश्च रागश्च विषादश्शोष एव च ।
वैचित्र्यं चैव हर्षश्च सप्तैते सहजा मलाः ॥'

तत्कारणस्य मलादेरसंभवात् । किं पुनरेवंभूतस्येश्वरस्य सद्भावे प्रमाणमिति चेदत आह—**जगदेकबीजमिति** । जगतः निमित्तकर्ता । अयमभिप्रायः—सन्निवेशादिमत्त्वेन जगतः कार्यत्वं बुद्ध्वा तस्य निमित्तं कारणमीश्वराख्यं कार्यत्वेन हेतुनाऽनुमीयते । यद्यत् सावयवं तत्तत्कार्यं, यद्यत् कार्यं तत्तत्सकर्तृकमिति न्यायात् । यच्छ्रूयते—

'विवादाध्यासितं विश्वं विश्ववित्कर्तृपूर्वकम् ।
कार्यत्वादावयोस्सिद्धं कार्यं कुंभादिकं यथे' ॥ ति ।

श्रीमन्मतङ्गेऽपि—'निमित्तकारणं त्वीश' इति ॥ अयं चेश्वरवादोऽस्माभिर्मृगेन्द्रवृत्तिदीपिकायामुक्तः तत एवावधार्यः । **सर्वानुग्राहकः**—अनुग्रहश्चात्रोपलक्षणं सृष्ट्यादेरपि । अतश्च सृष्टिस्थितिसंहारतिरोभावानुग्रहाख्यैः पञ्चभिः कृत्यैस्सर्वेषामात्मनां भोगमोक्षप्रद इत्यर्थः । सर्वकर्तृत्वादेव चास्य सर्वज्ञत्वं सिद्धम् । अज्ञातस्य करणासंभवात् । उक्तं च—

'सर्वज्ञस्सर्वकर्तृत्वात् साधनाङ्गफलैस्सह ।
यो यज्जानाति कुरुते स तदेवेति सुस्थितम् ॥ इति ।

एवंभूतश्**शंभुः** परमेश्वरो **जयति** सर्वोत्कर्षेण वर्तते प्रोक्तैरेव हेतुभिरिति ॥१॥

एवं धर्मिस्वरूपं शिवं प्रस्तुत्य धर्मस्वरूपस्य तत्सामर्थ्यस्य लयावस्थां स्तुतिव्याजेन दर्शयति—

नोदयति यन्न नश्यति
निर्वाति न निर्वृतिं प्रयच्छति च ।
ज्ञानक्रियास्वभावं
तत्तेजः शांभवं जयति ॥२॥

उत्पत्तिविनाशशून्यमित्यनेन तद्योगिनो बौद्धज्ञानाच्चैतन्यात्मनश्शिवतेजसो विशेषं दर्शयति । यद्येवं 'चैतन्यं दृक्क्रियारूपं तदस्त्यात्मनि सर्वदा' इति श्रुतेः आत्मसामर्थ्यात् शिवसामर्थ्यस्य को विशेष इत्यत आह—**निर्वाति न निर्वृतिं प्रयच्छतीति** । अयमस्य पशुसामर्थ्याद्विशेषो दर्शितः । यदिदं केनापि न मुच्यते तत्तु अनेन पाशविमोचनेन प्रकटीक्रियत इति । किं तत इत्यत आह—**'ज्ञानक्रियास्वभावं तत्तेजश्शां-**

भवं जयति' इति चिद्धर्मत्वादेवेदमपि चिदात्मकमित्यर्थः । यच्छ्रूयते 'शक्तिर्नाचेतना चित्' इति ॥२॥

इदानीम् अधिकारावस्थायामपि शिवस्य शक्तिरेव करणमित्याह—

शक्तो यया स शंभुः
भुक्तौ मुक्तौ च पशुगणस्यास्य ।
तामेकां चिद्रूपा–
माद्यां सर्वात्मनाऽस्मि नतः ॥३॥

शक्त्यात्मनैव करणेनात्मनां भोगमोक्षसिद्धये शिवः पञ्चविधकृत्यकरणे शक्तः समर्थो भवति । न तद्व्यतिरिक्तेन करणान्तरेण । ननु देहेन्द्रियरहितस्य कर्तृत्वं न दृश्यते इति चेत्, न । तद्रहितस्यात्मनश्शक्तिमात्रादेव स्वदेहस्पन्दादौ सामर्थ्यदर्शनात् । उक्तञ्च—'करणन्तु न शक्त्यन्यत्' इति । **एकाम्** इत्यनेनास्या इच्छादिभेदो वामादिभेदश्च ज्ञेयकार्याद्युपाधिभेदेनोपचारात् न तु परमार्थत इति दर्शयति । 'एकैवानेकतां याति शिवशक्तिरुपाधितः' इति श्रुतेः । **चिद्रूपाम्** इत्यनेन कार्यभेदेऽपि मायादिवन्नास्याः परिणाम इति दर्शयति तस्य जडधर्मत्वात् । **आद्यां**–प्रधानभूताम्, समवेताम् । अनेन परिग्रहशक्तिस्वरूपं बिन्दुमायात्मकमप्यस्य बाह्यं शक्तिद्वयमस्तीति सूचयति । उपादानं विना जगदुत्पत्त्ययोगात् । वक्ष्यति चात्र—'कर्त्रा विना न कार्यं न तथोपादानकरणाभ्याम्' इति ॥३॥

अधुना प्रकरणे प्रतिपाद्यमर्थं प्रतिजानीते—

लोकानुग्रहहेतोः
करुणारसनिर्भरेण चित्तेन ।
तत्त्वप्रकाश एषो–
ऽस्माभिः क्रियते समासेन ॥४॥

तत्त्वानां पृथिव्यादिशिवान्ततत्त्वानां तत्कर्तुश्शिवस्य तदुपकार्याणां चात्मनां प्रकाशः क्रियत इत्यर्थः ॥४॥

तान्येव प्रकाशान्युद्दिशति—

शैवागमेषु मुख्यं
पतिपशुपाशा इति क्रमात्त्रितयम् ॥
तत्र पतिः शिव उक्तः
पशवो ह्यणवोऽर्थपञ्चकं पाशः ॥५॥

पदार्थानामिति शेषः । तदुक्तं तन्त्रलक्षणे—'त्रिपदार्थं चतुष्पादं महातन्त्रम्'

इति । अतश्च तेष्वेवान्येषां वस्तूनामन्तर्भाव इति स लक्षणेन दर्शयति—**तत्र पतिरिति** । तत्र–तेषु त्रिपदार्थेषु मध्ये पतिपदार्थश्शिव इत्युक्तः । **शिव**शब्देनात्र जात्येकवचनेन शिवत्वयोगिनां मन्त्रमन्त्रेश्वरमन्त्रमहेश्वरमुक्तात्मशक्तिशिवानां सवाचकानां शिवत्वप्राप्तिसाधनेन दीक्षादिना उपायकलापेन सह पतिपदार्थे सङ्ग्रहः कथ्यते **अणवश्चा**त्मानः प्रेर्याः । अनेन च पशुत्वयोगिनां विज्ञानकलादिभेदभिन्नानां बद्धात्मनां पशुपदार्थत्वमुच्यते । **अर्थपञ्चक**मित्यनेन मलरोधशक्तिकर्ममायाबिन्दव. प्रोच्यन्ते । ततस्तेषां पञ्चानां बिन्दुमायोद्भ तैः शुद्धाशुद्धरूपैः तत्त्वभुवनभूतभावैः सह पाशपदार्थे सङ्ग्रहः ।

ननु कथमेकस्या एव शिवशक्तेः पतिपदार्थे पाशपदार्थे च सङ्ग्रह उच्यते । सत्यम् । परमार्थतः पतिपदार्थ एव शक्तेरन्तर्भावः । पाशत्वं तु तस्याः पाशधर्मानुवर्तनेनोपचारात् । तदुक्तं श्रीमन्मृगेन्द्रे—

'तासां माहेश्वरीशक्तिः सर्वानुग्राहिका शिवा ।
धर्मानुवर्तनादेव पाश इत्युपर्चत' ॥ इति ॥५॥

अस्तु तर्हि मुक्तानां पाशसंसर्गरहितत्वाच्छिवत्वम । विद्येश्वरादीनां तु बैन्दवशरीरयोगेऽपि कथं पशुत्वाभावोऽत आह—

मुक्तात्मानोऽपि शिवाः
किन्त्वेते तत्प्रसादतो मुक्ताः ।
सोऽनादिमुक्त एको
विज्ञेयः पञ्चमन्त्रतनुः ॥६॥

मुक्तात्मानः संप्राप्तशिवसाम्याः । अपिशब्दाद्विद्येश्वरादयश्च शिवा एव । पशुत्वाख्येन मलेन विरहात् । तद्योगिनां हि पशुत्वम् । 'पशुः पशुत्वसंयोगात्' इति श्रुतेः । अत एषां शिवत्वेन सर्वज्ञत्वादिना योगात् शिवत्वमेव । बैन्दवशरीरयोगस्तु अधिकारमलांशावशेषतोऽधिकारनिबन्धन एव । अत एव मायोत्तीर्णत्वान्मलरहितत्वाच्च विद्याविद्येश्वरप्राप्तेरपरमुक्तित्वम् । कथं पुनर्मन्त्रेश्वराणां कलादियोगेऽपि शिवत्वम् । साक्षाच्छिवानुगृहीतत्वेन सर्वज्ञत्वादिना योगात् मलरहितत्वाच्च । कलादीनां योगस्तु मायागर्भाधिकारमलांशावशेषतोऽधिकारनिबन्धनत्वेन । तेषामावश्यकत्वाच्च । यदुक्तम्—'कलायोगेऽपि नो वश्याः खलानां पशुसङ्घवत्' इति । यद्येवं शिवत्वे समानेऽपि मुक्तात्मादिभ्योऽस्य परमेश्वरस्य को विशेषोऽत आह—**'किन्त्वेते तत्प्रसादतो मुक्ताः'** इति । एते पूर्वोक्ताः विद्येश्वरादयः तस्य परमेश्वरस्य प्रसादतः । **सोऽनादिमुक्त** इति । अनादिमुक्तः स्वभावसिद्धनित्यनिर्मलनिरतिशयार्थज्ञानक्रियाशक्तियुक्त इत्यर्थः ।

ननु ईश्वरस्यापि 'पञ्चवक्त्रः त्रिपञ्चदृक्' इत्यादिनाऽऽगमेषु शरीरेन्द्रिययोगः

श्रूयत इत्यत आह—**पञ्चमन्त्रतनुः**। अयमभिप्रायः—ध्यानार्थमेवेश्वरस्य पञ्चवक्त्राद्याकारः श्रूयते निराकारे ध्यानपूजाद्ययोगात्। यदाहुः—

'आकारवांस्त्वं नियमादुपास्यो न वस्त्वनाकारमुपैति बुद्धिः' इति।

श्रीमत्पौष्करेऽपि—

'साधकस्य तु लक्ष्यार्थे तस्य रूपमुदाहृ तम्' इति।

श्रीमन्मृगेन्द्रेऽपि—

'वपुषो विद्यमानत्वाद् यद् यत्कृत्यं करोति सः।
तत्र तत्रास्य तत्कर्तृ वपुषाऽनुकृतं वपुः'॥ इति।

अतः पञ्चमन्त्रात्मिकाः पञ्चकृत्योपयोगिन्यः ईशानाद्याः शक्तय एव शरीरकार्यं कुर्वाणाः तनुरित्युपचारादुच्यन्ते। तदुक्तम्—

'तद्वपुः पञ्चभिर्मन्त्रैः पञ्चकृत्योपयोगिभिः।
ईशतत्पुरुषाघोरवामाजैर्मस्तकादिकम्'॥ इति॥६॥

अत एवाह—

पञ्चविधं तत्कृत्यं
सृष्टिस्थितिसंहृतितिरोभावाः।
तद्वदनुग्रहकरणं
प्रोक्तं सततोदितस्यास्य॥७॥

एतत्कृत्यपञ्चकं शुद्धाध्वविषये साक्षाच्छिवकर्तृकम्। अशुद्धाध्वविषये तु अनन्तादिद्वारेणेत्युक्तम्। तथा श्रीमत्किरणे—'शुद्धेऽध्वनि शिवः कर्ता प्रोक्तोऽनन्तोऽसिते प्रभुः' इति। तत्र शिवस्य साक्षात्सृष्टिबिन्द्वात्मकादुपादानाच्छुद्धतत्त्वभुवनाद्युत्पादनपूर्वकं तद्भुवनवासिनां विद्याविद्येश्वराणाञ्च बैन्दवशरीरयोजनम्। नादादिक्रमेण विद्योत्पादनं च। अनन्तादिद्वारा तु मायाद्युपादानादशुद्धतत्त्वभुवनाद्युत्पादनपूर्वकं पशुसङ्घानां सूक्ष्मेण तात्त्विकशरीरेण स्वकर्मानुगुणभौवनशरीरेण च योजनम्। मन्त्रेश्वराणामधिकारनिबन्धनशरीरोत्पादनं च। **स्थितिः** स्वशक्त्या निरुद्धस्य सर्वस्य जगतः स्वविषयेऽवस्थापनम्। **संहृतिस्तु** शुद्धाशुद्धयोः कार्यवर्गयोर्बिन्दुमाययोरुपसंहारः। **तिरोभावश्च** पाशानुग्रहणेनात्मनां यथानुगुणभोगभोजनम्। **अनुग्रहोऽपि** पाशतिरोधानेनात्मनां परापरमोक्षदानमिति।

ननु 'सृष्टिसंरक्षणादानभावानुग्रहकारिण' इति श्रीमद्रौरवादिश्रुतेः विद्याविद्येशानामपि पञ्चकृत्याधिकारित्वात् कथं सततोदितस्यास्येति नियमः। उच्यते—तेषामपि शिवप्रेरणयैव पञ्चविधकृत्यकर्तृत्वात्तथोक्तमित्यविरोधः॥७॥

इत्थं पतिपदार्थभेदमुक्त्वा पशुपदार्थभेदमाह—

पशवस्त्रिविधा ज्ञेयाः
विज्ञानप्रलयकेवलौ सकलः।
मलयुक्तस्तत्राद्यो
मलकर्मयुतो द्वितीयः स्यात्॥८॥

तत्रेति । तेषां मध्ये आद्यः विज्ञानकेवलाख्यो वर्गः । 'विज्ञानयोगसंन्यासैर्भोगाद्वा कर्मणः क्षयात्' इति कर्मक्षयतः । कर्मभोगार्थस्य कलादिबन्धस्याप्यभावात् केवलं मलमात्रयुक्तः स्यात् । **द्वितीयस्तु** प्रलयकेवलाख्यो वर्गः प्रलये कलादेरुपसंहारात् मलकर्मयुक्तो भवति ॥८॥

मलमायाकर्मयुतः
सकलस्तेषु द्विधा भवेदाद्यः ।
आद्यः समाप्तकलुषो–
ऽसमाप्तकलुषो द्वितीयः स्यात् ॥९॥

सकलस्तु बन्धत्रययुक्तः । तत्र च मायायाः साक्षात्संबन्धाभावात् मायाशब्देन तत्कार्यभूताः कलादयः कथ्यन्ते । तद्युक्तत्वादेव चास्य सकलत्वम् । अतश्च विज्ञानादिना कर्मक्षयेऽपि किञ्चित्कालं संस्कारवशेन शरीरस्थितिः संभवतीति मलमायायुक्तेऽपि सकलभेदः शास्त्रेषु श्रूयते । उक्तं च सांख्यैः—

'सम्यग् ज्ञानाधिगमाद्धर्मादीनामकारणप्राप्तौ ।
तिष्ठति संस्कारवशाच्चक्रभ्रमिवद्धृतशरीर' ॥ इति ।

किं च **तेष्विवेति** आद्यो विज्ञानकेवलः पुनर्द्विधा भिद्यते । कौ तौ भेदावित्यत आह । आद्य इति । मलस्य द्रव्यत्वे सति जडत्वाच्चक्षुषः पटलादेरिव पाकस्संभवतीति । आद्यो विज्ञानकेवलः पक्वमलापक्वमलभेदेन द्विविधो भवतीति भावः ॥९॥

तयोस्तु—

आद्याननुगृह्य शिवो
विद्येशत्वे नियोजयत्यष्टौ ।
मन्त्रांश्च करोत्यपरान्
ते चोक्ताः कोटयः सप्त ॥१०॥

आद्यान् पक्वमलान् पाकतारतम्यापेक्षयाऽधिकारयोग्या ननु गृह्यमलापोहनेन सर्वज्ञत्वादिना युक्तान् वैन्दवशरीरयोगिनश्च कृत्वा तेषु विशिष्टमलपाकवतोऽष्टौ विद्येशत्वे योजयति । अनन्त-सूक्ष्म-शिवोत्तम-एकनेत्र-एकरुद्र-त्रिमूर्ति-श्रीकण्ठ-शिखण्डिसंज्ञान् पञ्चकृत्याधिकारिणः शुद्धाध्वाधिष्ठातॄन् ईश्वरतत्त्वनिवासिनश्च करोतीत्यर्थः । **अपरांस्तु** सप्तकोटिसंख्यातान् **मन्त्राननुग्रहकारणभूतान्** विद्यातत्त्वनिवासिनश्च करोतीत्यर्थः । तेषु चार्धं सकलविषये गुर्वधिकरणस्य शिवस्यानुग्रहकर्मणि करणत्वेन स्थित्वा महाप्रलये मोक्षं याति । अन्यत्त्वर्धं निरधिकरणस्य शिवस्य विज्ञानकलादिविषये मन्त्रेश्वरमायागर्भाधिकारिविषये च करणत्वं प्राप्याधिकारवैराग्यात् सृष्ट्यनन्तरमेवापावृत्तं भवति । तदुक्तं श्रीमन्मृगेन्द्रे—

'प्रयोक्तृदेहसापेक्षं तदर्धमखिलेऽध्वनि ।
कृत्वाऽधिकारं स्थित्यन्ते शिवं विशति सेश्वरम् ॥
विनाऽधिकरणे नान्यत्प्रधानविकृतेरधः ।
कृत्वाऽधिकारमीशेष्टमुपैति स्वाध्वसंहृतौ' ॥ इति ।

ये तु अत्र अत्यन्तमलपाकवन्तोऽधिकारानपेक्षाः तान्परे पदे योजयति । ये अपक्वमलास्तेषां मलपाकान्तं विज्ञानकलत्वमेवेत्युक्तं श्रीमद्रौरवादौ ॥१०॥

प्रलयाकलेषु येषां
पक्वे मलकर्मणी व्रजन्त्यन्ये ।
पुर्यष्टकदेहयुता
योनिषु निखिलासु कर्मवशात् ॥११॥

प्रलयाकलेषु मध्ये **येषां** मलः पक्वस्तत्पाकवशादेव कर्मापि समस्तं पक्वं ते **व्रजन्तीति** मोक्षमिति शेषः । मलपरिपाकस्य शक्तिपातद्वारेण मोक्षहेतुत्वात् । यदुक्तं श्रीमन्मृगेन्द्रे—

'तमश्शक्त्यधिकारस्य निवृत्तेस्तत्परिच्युतौ ।
व्यनक्ति दृक्क्रियानन्त्यं जगद्बन्धुरणोश्शिवः' ॥ इति ।

श्रीमत्स्वायंभुवेऽपि—

'क्षीणे तस्मिन्धिया सा स्यात्परं निःश्रेयसं प्रति' । इति ।

अन्ये त्वपक्वमलाः **पुर्यष्टकदेहयुताः** सन्तः **कर्मवशेन** तद्भोगार्थं **निखिलासु योनिषु** भुवनजशरीरात्मिकासु व्रजन्तीति पूर्वक्रियानुषङ्गोऽत्रापि कर्तव्यः । एते इति पाठापेक्षायां पुर्यष्टकदेहयुताः योनिषु व्रजन्तीति व्याचक्षेत । तेषां प्रोक्तः श्रुतिविरोधः पक्वमलानामपि पुनः संसारयोगात् अनिर्मोक्षप्रसङ्गश्च दोषः ॥११॥

अथ किं तत्पुर्यष्टकमित्यत आह—

स्यात्पुर्यष्टकमन्तः-
करणं धीकर्मकरणानि ।
कांश्चिदनुगृह्य वितरति
भुवनपतित्वं महेश्वरस्तेषाम् ॥१२॥

तत्र **पुर्यष्टकं** नाम प्रतिपुरुषं नियतः सर्गादारभ्य कल्पान्तं मोक्षान्तं वाऽवस्थितः पृथिव्यादिकलान्तत्रिंशत्तत्त्वात्मकोऽसाधारणरूपः सूक्ष्मदेहः । यच्छ्रूयते—'प्रयोक्त्यादिमहीप्रान्तमेतदण्वर्थसाधकम् । प्रत्यात्मनियतम्' इति । तत्त्वसङ्ग्रहेऽपि—

'वसुधाद्यस्तत्त्वगणः प्रतिपुंनियतः कलान्तोऽयम् ।
पर्यटति, कर्मवशतो भुवनजदेहेष्वयं च सर्वेषु' ॥ इति ।

अतश्चायमर्थः—**अन्तःकरण**शब्देन मनोबुद्ध्यहंकारवाचिना अन्यान्यपि पुंसो

भोगक्रियायामन्तरङ्गानि कलाकालनियतिविद्यारागप्रकृतिगुणाख्यानि सप्त तत्त्वानि उपलक्ष्यन्ते । **धीकर्म**शब्देन बुद्धेरध्यवसिततया ग्राह्याणि पृथिव्याद्याकाशान्तानि पञ्चभूतानि तत्कारणानि च शब्दादीनि पञ्चतन्मात्राणि उच्यन्ते । **करण**शब्देन बुद्धीन्द्रियाणि कर्मेन्द्रियाणि दर्शयति ।

ननु

'शब्दः स्पर्शश्च रूपं च रसो गन्धश्च पञ्चमः ।
बुद्धिर्मनस्त्वहंकारः पुर्यष्टकमुदाहृतम्' ॥

इति श्रीमत्कालोत्तरे श्रूयते । सत्यम् । अत एव तत्सूत्रं तत्रभवता रामकण्ठेन त्रिंशत्तत्त्वपरतया व्याख्यातम् । कथं पुनरस्य पुर्यष्टकत्वम् । भूततन्मात्रबुद्धीन्द्रियकर्मेन्द्रियान्तःकरणसंज्ञैः पञ्चभिर्वर्गैः तत्कारणेन गुणेन तदापूरकेण प्रधानेन कलादिपञ्चकञ्चुकात्मना वर्गेणारब्धत्वादित्यविरोधः । अथ तेषु पुर्यष्टकयुक्तेषु मध्ये **कांश्चिदनुगृह्य महेश्वर** मन्त्रमहेश्वर इत्यर्थः । गुह्यातिगुह्यगुह्यतरपवित्रस्थाण्वाख्यपञ्चाष्टकादीनां भुवनपतीनामनन्तनियुक्तत्वेनैव श्रुतेः । साञ्जनत्वाच्च । अनुगृह्येति । स्वाधिकारान्तं प्रकटीकृतज्ञानक्रियानणिमादियोगिनश्च कांश्चिद्विशिष्टपुण्यवतः कृत्वेत्यर्थः ॥१२॥

शेषा भवन्ति सकलाः
कलादियोगादहर्मुखे काले ।
शतमष्टादश तेषां
कुरुते स्वयमेव मन्त्रेशान् ॥१३॥

अनतिपक्वमलत्वेन संसारयोगिभ्यश्च ये **शेषाः** पक्वमलाः सन्तोऽपि तत्पाकमान्द्यात् मायागर्भाधिकारयोग्याः तेऽपि सर्गप्रारम्भेऽधिकारनिबन्धनेन कलादिना **योगात्** सकला भवन्ति । तद्योगेऽपि ते मलरहितत्वात **शेषा** इत्युक्ताः । कियन्तस्ते केन नियुक्ता इत्यत आह—**शतमष्टादशेति** । तेषामष्टादशाधिकशतं **स्वयमेव** शिवो ह्यपनीतमलान्कृत्वा मन्त्रेशपदे योजयति । न तु ते अनन्तनियुक्ता इत्यर्थः । कलादियोगस्तु तेषामनन्तकर्तृक एव । 'अनन्तोऽ सि ते प्रभुः' इत्युक्तत्वात् ॥१३॥

तानेव विभजति—

तत्राष्टौ मण्डलिनः
क्रोधाद्यास्तत्समाश्च वीरेशः ।
श्रीकण्ठः शतरुद्राः
शतमित्यष्टादशाभ्यधिकम् ॥१४॥

अत्र **मण्डलिनोऽष्टौ** कला मस्तकवासिनो गहनेशादयः **क्रोधादयश्च** गुणमस्तकस्थाः अष्टावेव **वीरेशो** वीरभद्रः शतरुद्राधिष्ठाता । **श्रीकण्ठो** गुणतत्त्वनिलयोऽधस्तनभुवनादेश्च कर्ता । **शतरुद्रास्तु** ब्रह्माण्डधारका इति ॥१४॥

परिपाकमलानेता-
नुत्सादनहेतुशक्तिपातेन ।
योजयति परे तत्त्वे
स दीक्षयाऽऽचार्यमूर्तिस्थः ॥१५॥

अथ त्रिबन्धनबद्धेषु सकलेषु मध्ये सः शिवः । **परितः** समन्तात् आधिक्येन **पक्वमलान्** सकलान् तिरोधानशक्त्युपसंहारेणानुग्रहशक्त्या पाशनिरोधनादिकया स्पृष्टान् गुरुमधिष्ठाय **दीक्षया** परे पदे शिवसाम्यरूपे योजयति । मन्दमलपाकांस्तु मन्दतरादिशक्तिपातेन विद्येश्वरादिपदे योजयति । यच्छ्रूयते—

'रुद्रमन्त्रपतीशानपदभाजो भवन्ति ते ।
स्थितौ यानननुगृह्णाति गुरुमास्थाय चिद्वतः' ॥ इति ।
'यो यत्राभिलषेद्भोगान् स तत्रैव नियोजितः ।
सिद्धिभाङ्मन्त्रसिध्यादि' इति च ।

अत एव विज्ञानप्रलयकेवलयोः निरधिकरण एव शिवस्यानुग्रहसिद्धिः । अत एव मलस्य द्रव्यत्वाच्चक्षुषः पटलादेरिव दीक्षाख्येनैवेश्वरव्यापारेण निवृत्तिः । न तु ज्ञानमात्रादिति भावः ॥१५॥

अपरिपक्वमलांस्तु—

बद्धान्शेषानपरा-
न्विनियुङ्क्ते भोगभुक्तये पुंसः ।
तत्कर्मणामनुगमा-
दित्येवं कीर्तिताः पशवः ॥१६॥

एष च प्रागुक्तानुवादः । अथ पशुपदार्थमुपसंहरति—**इत्येवं कीर्तिताः पशवः** इति ॥१६॥

अथ पाशपदार्थभेदमाह—

पाशाश्चतुर्विधाः स्युः
पुंसो मलकर्मजौ मतौ प्रथमौ ।
मायेयतिरोधायिक-
शिवशक्तिसमुद्भवौ चान्यौ ॥१७॥

ननु प्रागर्थपञ्चकं पाश इत्युक्तम् । अत्र तेषां चतुर्विधत्वोक्तिर्विरुद्धेति चेन्न । बिन्दोर्महामायात्मनः परमुक्त्यपेक्षया पाशत्वेऽपि तद्योगस्य विद्येश्वरादिपदप्राप्ति-हेतुत्वेनापरमुक्तित्वादत्र पाशत्वेनानुपादानमित्यविरोधः । अत एवाह **पुंस** इति । पुंस्त्वमलयोगिनः सकलस्येत्यर्थः । अत एव शुद्धाध्ववासिनामनन्तादीनां महामाया-रोधशक्त्यात्मकमेव पाशद्वयं विद्यते । तच्च मायादिवन्न मोहकं अपि तु बोधकमेवेति सर्वं सुस्थितम् ।

ननु यन्नादाख्यं परं बीजं सर्वभूतेष्ववस्थितमिति श्रुतेः सकलस्यापि बिन्दुकार्य-योगः, सत्यम् । सर्वज्ञत्वाद्यविनाभूतेन बैन्दवशरीरादिनास्य योगो नास्तीत्येवमुक्तम् । के ते इत्याह—**मलकर्मजौ मतौ प्रमथाविति** । मलकर्मरूपावेवात्र मलकर्मजाविति कार्यकारणयोरभेदेनोपचारादुच्यते । तयोरेवानन्तरसूत्रे लक्षणस्य वक्ष्यमाणत्वात् । तत्तत्कार्यकारणयोरावरणभोगभोजनयोः फलरूपतया पाशत्वेन प्रसिद्धेश्च । एवं **'मायेयतिरोधायिकशिवशक्तिसमुद्भवा'** वित्यत्रापि द्रष्टव्यम् । प्रथमौ अनादिसिद्धौ । तत्र मलः पुंसोऽनादि कृत्वा ज्ञानक्रियावारकः । कर्मापि प्रवाहानादिबीजाङ्कुरादि-न्यायेन कर्मजशरीरसन्तानस्याप्यनादित्वेन स्थितेः **मायेयस्तु** कलादिरागंतुकः पाशः कर्मसद्भाव एव तस्य सद्भावात् । तदभावेऽपि प्रलयकेवलिनो मलकर्मयोगाच्च शिव-शक्तेस्तु पाशाधिष्ठानेन आत्मनि तिरोधायिकत्वादुपचारेण पाशत्वमुक्तम्, वक्ष्या-मश्च ॥१७॥

तत्र मललक्षणमाह—

एको ह्यनेकशक्ति-
र्दृक्क्रिययोश्छादको मलः पुंसः ।
तुषकम्बुकवज्ज्ञेय-
स्ताम्राश्रितकालिमावद्वा ॥१८॥

एक एव मलो जडत्वे सति नित्यत्वाज्जडानामनेकानां घटादिवदनित्यत्वं स्यात् । यद्येवं मलस्य एकत्वादेकस्य मोक्षार्थं तस्य निरोधे सर्वमोक्षप्रसङ्गः । अत आह—**अनेकशक्तिरिति** । अनेकात्मावारकानेकशक्तियुक्तः अतः एकस्याः शक्तेः परिपाकेन तिरोधानेन तदावार्यस्यैव मोक्षः । **तुषकम्बुकवदिति** । यथा तण्डुलताम्र-योरनाद्यावारकत्वेन सहजं तुषादि कालिमा वा पश्चात्पाकेन रसशक्त्या निवर्तते एवं मलोऽप्यात्मनोऽनाद्यावारकः पाकवशाद्दीक्षया निवर्तते यदि वा । यथा शाल्या-देस्तुषाद्यङ्कुरोत्पत्तौ निमित्तम् । एवमात्मनो मलः शरीराद्युत्पत्तौ निमित्तम् । यथा वा ताम्रस्य कालिमा रसशक्त्या निवर्तते तथा मलः शिवशक्त्या निवर्तते इत्येताव-दात्मनो दृष्टान्तः, न तु सर्वसाम्येनेति ॥ १८ ॥

कर्मानादिप्रोक्तं
धर्माधर्मात्मकं विचित्रं च ।
माया च वस्तुरूपा
मूलं विश्वस्य नित्या सा ॥१९॥

कर्मणोऽनादित्वं प्रवाहानादितयेत्युक्तम् । **वैचित्र्यं च** साधनभेदात् साधनं च कर्त्रादिविशेषः विचित्रभोगभेदात्मकफलदर्शनाच्च । **माया च** तावद्वस्तुरूपा । न

तु वेदान्तवादिनामिव असत्यरूपा । **विश्वस्य** कलादेस्साधारणस्य । भुवनाद्यात्मनोऽसाधारणस्य सूक्ष्मदेहात्मनः उभयरूपस्य भुवनजशरीरात्मनश्चाशुद्धस्य सर्वस्य जगतो **मूलमु**पादानम् । उपादानं विना कार्यानुत्पत्तेः । सा च **नित्या** परमकारणत्वात् । अनित्यत्वे त्वनवस्थाप्रसङ्गाच्च । अत एवैका सा ज्ञेया । एष च न्यायश्शुद्धाध्वोपादानभूतस्य बिन्दोरपि समानः । ननु तत्र उद्देशसूत्रे मायेयः **पा**शत्वेनोद्दिष्टः अत्र मायाया लक्षणमुक्तमिति विरोध इति चेत्, सत्यम् । मायायास्स्वतो बन्धकत्वाभावात्तत्र तत्कार्यमुद्दिष्टम् । अत्र तु तस्य कारणाधीनत्वात्कारणस्य लक्षणमुक्तम् । कार्यस्य तु विस्तृतत्वात्पश्चाल्लक्षणमभिधास्यत इत्यविरोधः ॥१९॥

इत्थं साक्षात् पाशत्रयमुक्त्वा शक्तेरुपचारेण पाशत्वमिति दर्शयन्नुक्तार्थमुपसंहरति—

पाशानुग्राहित्वा-
त्पुरुषतिरोधायिका विभोश्शक्तिः ।
पाशत्वेनाभिहिता
कथिताः पाशाश्चतुर्विधास्त्वेवम् ॥२०॥

इत्थं सकलविषयं पाशत्रयमुभयविषयं तिरोधानशक्तिं चोक्त्वा मायोत्तीर्णविषयं शुद्धाध्वस्वरूपं पाशमाह—

शुद्धानि पञ्चतत्त्वा-
न्याद्यन्तेषु स्मरन्ति शिवतत्त्वम् ।
शक्तिसदाशिवतत्त्वे
ईश्वरविद्याख्यतत्त्वे च ॥२१॥

शुद्धानि शुद्धतत्त्वानि । किं तानि नित्यानि उतानित्यानि । नित्यत्वे सृष्टिविरोधः । अनित्यत्वे किं तेषामुपादानमित्यत आह—तेषु मध्ये **शिवतत्त्वं** बिन्द्वात्मकं आद्यं प्रधानमुपादानं **स्मरन्ति** पूर्वाचार्याः । परमोपादानत्वेनैव चास्य मायावन्नित्यत्वं सिद्धमित्युक्तम् । अतश्चान्यानि चत्वारि तानि तत्कार्याणीति भावः । तदुक्तम्—'मायोपरि महामाया' इति । इदमत्राकूतम्—विद्यादितत्त्वानां विचित्रभुवनादिसन्निवेशादिमत्त्वेन श्रुतेः कार्यत्वाव्यभिचारात्तत्तत्त्ववासिनां च शरीरादियोगात्तत्कारणं महामायात्मकं सिद्धमिति । यदुक्तम्—'उपादानं शरीराणां विद्याविद्येश्वरात्मनाम्' इति । किञ्च नादादिद्वारेण मन्त्रतन्त्राद्युत्पादकत्वमप्यस्याश्श्रूयते । शक्तेर्नादो भवेद् बिन्दुरक्षरं मातृका ततः । इत्यादि । इत्थं बिन्द्वात्मकं शिवतत्त्वं प्रसाध्य तत्कार्याणि चत्वारि तानि किन्नामानीत्यत आह—**शक्तिसदाशिवेति** ॥ २१ ॥

एवं शुद्धानि तत्त्वानि सङ्ख्यातो नामतश्च उक्त्वा अथ अशुद्धान्यपि तथैवोद्दिशति—

पुंसोऽज्ञकर्तृतार्थं
मायातस्तत्त्वपञ्चकं भवति ।
कालो नियतिश्च तथा
कला च विद्या च रागश्च ॥२२॥

पुंसो बद्धात्मनो **अज्ञकर्तृतार्थं** अज्ञत्वकर्तृत्वसिद्ध्यै मायातः साक्षात्पारम्पर्येण च कालादि **तत्त्वपञ्चकं** भवति । पञ्चकञ्चुकयुक्तस्यास्य भोक्तृत्वेन पुंस्त्वमल-योगात्पुरुषतत्त्वाख्या भवतीति वक्ष्यति ॥२२॥

किं च—

अव्यक्तं मायातो
गुणतत्त्वं तदनु बुद्ध्यहङ्कारौ ।
चेतो धीकर्मेन्द्रिय-
तन्मात्राण्यनु च पञ्चभूतानि ॥२३॥

धीकर्मेन्द्रिधेति । बुद्धीन्द्रियकर्मेन्द्रियाणीत्यर्थः । अव्यक्तादीनि पञ्चविंशति-तत्त्वानि । **मायातः** पारम्पर्येणोत्पन्नानीति वक्ष्यामः । अत्र लक्षणोक्त्यवसरेण । एतेषां च ॥२३॥

पुरुषस्य भोगहेतोः
प्रधानतो विंशतिर्भवेत् व्यधिका ।
यस्मात्प्रकृतिगुणानां
नात्यन्तं वस्तुतो भेदः ॥२४॥

सर्वेषां चैषां कुत्रकुत्रोपयोगः किं च प्रधानात् साक्षात् जातानि कानि तत्त्वान्तर-व्यवधानेन जातानि कानीति सर्वं दर्शयिष्यामः । ननु 'अव्यक्तं मायात' इत्यादिना प्रकृत्यधस्तनतत्त्वानां चतुर्विंशतेरुक्तत्वात्कथमत्र व्यधिका विंशतिरुच्यते अत आह **यस्मात्प्रकृतिगुणानामिति** । गुणानामेव प्रकृतित्वेन साङ्ख्यैरभ्युपगमात् तन्निरासाय तेषामचैतन्ये सत्यनेकत्वाद्घटादीनामिव कारणान्तरेण भवितव्यमिति प्रकृतिसिद्धि-रस्माभिरुच्यते । ततः कार्यकारणयोरभेदविवक्षया एवमुक्तमित्यविरोधः ॥२४॥

तत्त्वानामपि तत्त्वं
येनाखिलमेव लीलया कथितम् ।
श्रीभोजदेवनृपति-
र्व्यदधत्तत्त्वप्रकाशं सः ॥७५॥

तत्त्वानां प्रकाशं ज्ञानं तत्त्वानां तत्त्वस्वरूपं येन कथितं ज्ञापितमित्यर्थः ॥७५॥

तदेव प्रपञ्चयति—

यस्याखिलं करतलामलकक्रमेण
देवस्य विस्फुरति चेतसि तत्त्वजातम् ।
श्रीभोजदेवनृपतिः स शिवागमार्थं
तत्त्वप्रकाशमसमानमिदं व्यधत्त ॥७६॥

यः शास्त्रेषु शिवोदितेषु परमं व्याख्यातृभावं गतः
सामान्येषु पदादिकेषु च सुधी स्वाध्यायशिक्षोल्बणः ।
तेनाघोरशिवेन शैवतिलकैः संप्रार्थितेनादरा-
त्संक्षेपेण गुरूत्तमेन विवृतस्तत्त्वप्रकाशः स्फुटम् ॥

इति लक्षद्वयाध्यापकश्रीमदघोरशिवाचार्यविरचिता
तत्त्वप्रकाशिकावृत्तिः समाप्ता ॥

GLOSSARY

accomplishment: *siddhi*
aphorism: *sūtra*
aptitude: *kalā*
assumptive energy: *parigraha śakti*
atom: *aṇu*
attachment: *rāga, sakti*
attribute: *guṇa, viśeṣaṇa*
aversion: *dveṣa*
beast: *paśu*
beastliness: *paśutva*
bestowal of grace: *anugraha*
body: *tanu, śarīra*
bond: *pāśa*
bound soul: *paśu*
bright: *sāttvika*
brightness: *sattva*
category: *tattva, padārtha*
cause: *kāraṇa*
celibacy: *naiṣṭhya*
cessation of pain: *duḥkhānta*
change: *vṛtti*
change of state: *avasthā-viśeṣa*
circle lord: *maṇḍalin*
cognition and conation: *jñāna-kriyā*
color: *rūpa*
combination: *samudāya*
compassionist: *kāruṇika*
component: *skandha*
concealment: *tirodhāna*
conceit: *garva*
conditioned: *sakala*
consciousness: *cit*
cosmic frolic: *līlā*
creation: *sṛṣṭi*
dark: *tāmasa*
darkness: *tamas*

deconditioned: *akala*
definitive doctrine: *siddhānta*
delight: *kāma*
demerit: *adharma*
desire: *rāga*
differentism: *Bhedavāda*
discriminative knowledge: *vijñāna*
displayed: *vaikharī*
dissentient views: *pūrvapakṣa*
dissolution: *pralaya*
dissolution-deconditioned: *pralayākala*
doctrine: *jñāna*
doubt: *saṃśaya*
dualist pastoralism: *pāśupata darśana*
earth: *prithivī*
effect: *kārya*
efficient cause: *kartā, kartṛ*
egoism: *ahaṅkāra*
egoity: *asmitā*
eight-constituents: *puryaṣṭaka*
elemental: *bhutādi*
embodier: *śarīrin*
embodier-embodied: *śarīra-śarīri-rūpa*
empty: *śūnya*
energizer: *śaktimat*
energy: *śakti*
energy of desire: *icchā-śakti*
energy of grace: *anugraha-śakti*
energy of knowledge: *jñāna-śakti*
energy of obstruction: *rodha-śakti, tirodhāna-śakti*
ever-beneficent: *sadāśiva*
ever-free: *satatodita*
evolved: *vyakta*
experience: *bhoga*
experiencer: *bhoktṛ*
explanatory verse: *kārikā*
faculty: *karaṇa*
faculties of action: *karmendriyāṇi*
faculties of knowledge: *jñānendriyāṇi*
false knowledge: *mithyājñāna*

family: *kula*
fate: *niyati*
Fierce Face Sect: *Kālānana*
Fierce Mouth: *Kālamukha*
fiery: *taijasa*
fifteen-eyed one: *tripañcadṛk*
five cosmic functions: *pañcakṛtya*
fivefold function: *pañcavidhakṛtya*
five-faced one: *pañcavaktra*
five-God-Worshipping Sect: *Pañcadeva-upāsana*
five objects: *arthapañcakam*
five organs of action: *pañcakarmendriya*
five senses : *pañcajñānendriya*
five-sheaths: *pañcakañcuka*
freed: *vimala*
goals of life: *puruṣārtha*
grace: *anugraha*
gradation: *krama*
great cosmic dissolution: *mahāpralaya*
great dissolution: *mahāpralaya*
great incantation lord: *mantra maheśvara*
great incantation lords: *mahāmantra*
great mirific power: *mahāmāyā*
great vow: *mahāvrata*
gross-elements: *bhūtāni*
iconic prescription: *caryā*
identification: *abhiniveśa*
ignorance: *avidyā, ajñāna*
The Illumination of Categories: *Tattvaprakāśa, Tattva-prakāśikā*
illusion: *māyā*
immaculate: *vimala*
immovable: *sthāṇu*
impersonal: *anātmaka*
impetuosity: *saṃraṃbha*
impetuosity-egoism: *saṃraṃbha ahaṅkāra*
impure category: *aśuddha tattva*
impure-matrix-pollution: *māyā mala*
impure way: *aśuddhādhva*
incantation lords: *mantreśa*
incomparable transformation: *apūrvapariṇāma*

inconceptualizable: *viśvottīrṇa*
inert: *jaḍa*
infinitesimal pollution: *āṇava-mala*
initiation: *dikṣā*
instinct: *buddhi*
instrumental cause: *karaṇa*
intelligence-deconditioned souls: *vijñānākala*
interjacent: *madhyamā*
internal sense: *antaḥkaraṇa*
karma pollution: *karma mala*
knowledge: *vidyā*
lapse: *cyuti*
latent impressions: *saṃskāras*
Left: *Vāma*
liberation: *mokṣa, kaivalya*
likeness to Śiva: *Śiva sāmya, Śiva samānatā*
Lion Tantra: *Mṛgendra Āgama*
lord: *pati*
lord of knowledge: *vidyeśvara*
lord of wisdom: *vidyeśa*
lovely lord: *vāma*
lower liberation: *aparā mukti*
maintenance: *sthiti*
manifested: *abhivyakta*
master: *pati, īśa*
material cause: *upādāna*
matter: *prakṛti, pradhāna*
maturing of pollution: *mala paripāka*
merit: *dharma*
mind: *manas*
mirific power: *māyā*
mirific power pollution: *māyīya mala*
Mixed: *Miśra*
modification: *vivarta*
modifying: *vaikārika*
Monist Pastoralism: *Lākuliśa Pāśupata*
Moon God Doctrine: *Soma Siddhānta*
morality: *dharma*
mysterious: *guhya*
mystic incantation: *mantra*

nature: *prakṛti*
necessity: *niyati*
nondualism: *advaita*
non-terrifying: *aghora*
norm: *pramāṇa*
nucleus: *bindu*
nucleus of mirific power: *māyā garbha*
objects of the intellect: *dhīkarma*
One Soul Doctrine: *Ekātmavāda*
Oneness Doctrine: *Aikyavāda*
original spirit: *tatpuruṣa*
origination: *ārambha*
orthodox judgment: *siddhānta*
passion: *rajas*
passionate: *rājasa*
peace-aptitude: *śānti kalā*
personal: *sātmaka*
personalist: *pudgalavādin*
poetic: *ālaṅkārika*
poetic devotee: *bhakta*
pollution: *mala*
pollution of rank: *adhikāra mala*
Power: *Śakti*
preceptor: *guru*
preexistent effect: *satkārya*
preliminary views: *pūrvapakṣa*
primal cause: *pradhāna, param bījam*
primal matter: *mūla-prakṛti*
prodigious: *mahat*
Pure Nondualism: *Śuddhādvaita*
pure-state: *layāvasthā*
pure wisdom: *śuddha vidyā*
qualification: *viśeṣa*
Qualified Monism: *Viśiṣṭādvaita*
Qualified Nondualism: *Viśeṣādvaita*
reflection: *manana*
right: *dakṣiṇa*
ritual: *kriyā*
ritual behavior: *vidhi*
ritualist: *mīmāṃsaka*

Rock Doctrine: *Pāṣāṇavāda*
sacred meal: *śrāddha*
The Śaiva Mystery: *Śaiva Rahasyam*
Śaiva Nondualism: *Śivādvaita*
Śaiva Scriptures: *Āgama*
sayings: *vacana*
section: *pāda*
self: *ātman*
sentience: *caitanya*
sex: *kāma*
Siddhānta Śaiva Nondualism: *Śivādvaita*
Śiva Equality Doctrine: *Śivasamavāda*
Śiva-nature: *Śivatva*
Śiva Permeation Doctrine: *Śivasaṅkrāntavāda*
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Sonic Brahman: *Śabdabrahman*
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sound: *nāda*
sound (element): *śabda*
Spirit: *Puruṣa*
substance: *viśeṣya, dravya*
subtle: *sūkṣma*
subtle elements: *tanmātrāṇi*
subtle mirific power: *sūkṣma māyā*
subtle soul: *aṇu*
superintendence pollution: *adhikāra mala*
supreme cause: *parama kāraṇa*
Supreme Lord: *Īśvara*
supreme lord of divine words: *mantra maheśvara*
supreme lordship: *aiśvarya*
supreme pure matrix: *para-bindu*
Supreme Self: *Paramātman*
Supreme-Śiva: *Parama Śiva*
supreme state: *parapada*
tantric: *tāntrika*
Terrifier God: *Bhairava*
theme: *viṣaya, pratijñā*
Theory of Equality with Śiva: *Śivasamavāda*

Theory of Preexistent Effect: *Satkāryavāda*
Theory of Similarity with Śiva: *Śivasāmyavāda*
thirty-six categories: *ṣaṭtriṃśattattvāni*
time: *kāla*
transformation: *pariṇāma*
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transmigration: *saṃsāra*
transmogrification: *vivarta*
trans-universal: *viśvottīrṇa*
triad of categories: *tattvatrayam*
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unevolved: *avyakta*
union: *yoga*
union qualified by action: *kriyālakṣaṇa yoga*
union qualified by cessation of action: *kriyoparamalakṣaṇa yoga*
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unmanifest: *avyakta*
unqualified nondualism: *nirviśeṣādvaita*
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Vibration: *Spanda*
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yonder-mystery: *atiguhya*

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ŚAIVISM IN PHILOSOPHICAL PERSPECTIVE

K. Sivaraman

Śaivism is one of the pervasive expressions of Indian religious culture stretching to the dim past of pre-history and surviving as a living force in the thought and life of millions of Hindus especially in Southern India and Northern Ceylon. The present work is a scholarly reconstruction of Śaivism in its characteristic and classical form as Śaiva Siddhānta, focusing mainly on the philosophical doctrine and presenting a conceptual analysis of its formative notions, problems and methods.

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OR
PRAISE OF ŚIVA'S GREATNESS

Edited and translated by

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